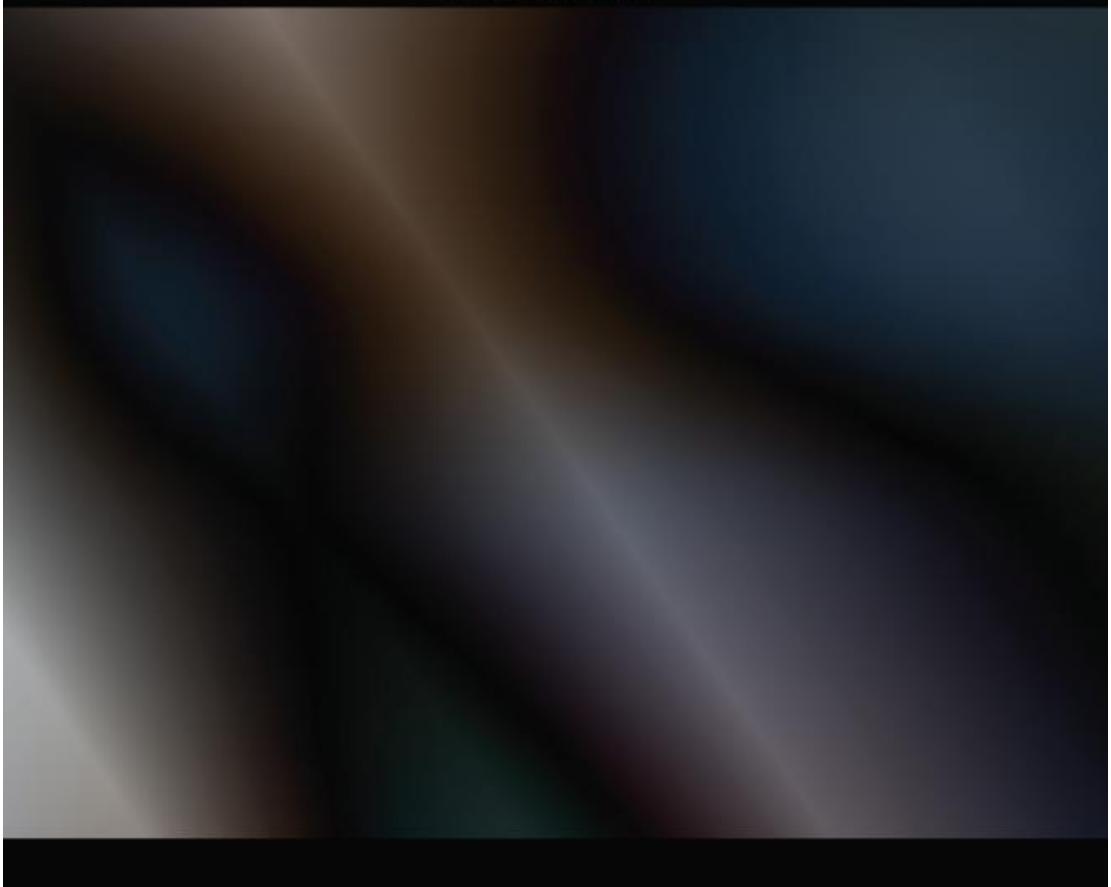


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The Kurds and their Others

Kurd is the Other

Heresh Qaderi



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Foreword

This book consists of a collection of articles that follow the same topic. The object of it is, on the one hand, the relationship between Kurds and their others, on the other hand, the relationship between religion and ethnicity which synthesized in the state: The relation between Islam and Arab, Iran and Zoroastrianism and Kurds and Mithra. The history of Kurds is the history of the otherness. As today, the three dominant ethnicities of the Middle East, suppress and reject the Kurds in the name of terrorists, secessionists and the agent of imperialism, in the age of religion and mythology, they also suppressed and renounced the Kurds in the name of infidels, demons and Satan. Therefore, if we want to find the history of Kurds and to find who they are, we must discover the otherness of the others (Persian, Arab, and Turks) and re-value their binary opposition. They have always used religion to justify domination and rejection of Kurds, in other words, religion is a hegemonic tool of ethnic domination and government its military and administrative tools. The Other in Middle Eastern religions has always been addressed to Kurds with titles such as evil and satan, so the Kurd is the Otherness of Others. The question that arises is why the Kurds are introduced as the Other?

Introduction

This book contains a collection of articles on similar topics. The object of this book on the one hand, exam the relation between ethnicity and religion in the Middle East which the synthesize of them shapes the quiddity of government/state, on the other hand, the relation between stateless Kurds with mono ethnic state. It means in the Middle East, main acuter is not class, but is ethnic. If the history of the West is the history of class conflict, and philosophy and ideas such as liberalism and socialism are the ideology of class domination, the history of the Middle East is the history of Ethnic/tribes ‘conflict, moreover, religions such as Islam and Zoroastrianism are the ideology of ethnic domination. For this reason, the text (Quran, Bible, Gatha) itself has no meaning, the meaning lies outside it is in the political and social structure. the conflict between good and evil in the religions is a reflection of the ethnic/nation and political conflict. The ruling ethnic/tribe that own the state/empire consider themselves good and representative of God and they call the stateless and defeated tribes Satan and evil. Ethnic will is the main and historic factor in the Middle East, which takes on an objective form in the form of a state / empire and is manifested mentally through religion. In other words, government (empire- state) in the Middle East is synthesized form dialectic between ethnicity and religion/ mythos.

Ethnicity is foundation and religion and government are its military and hegemonic tool in the service of ethnic’s will and desire. Religion is the manifestation of the spirit and mentality of ethnicity and the state/empire is its objective manifestation. In Hegel words religion is mental spirit of ethnicity and government is objective spirit of it.

To analyze the Middle East crisis, we need a theory that is abstracted from its history, not Western theories that are specific to Western structure. Unfortunately, the most of theories either lack a historic foundation or are abstracted from western theorists such as Marxism, Nationalism and development theories which are not able to analyze the root of political conflict in the Middle East. For example, Marxist theory cannot be used since class does not similar role in west. This book aims to provide a new view for old issues. Political conflict of Middle East is rooted on the one hand, in conflict between three main ethnic groups Arab, Turk and Persian which each of them use religion to justify their action as well as use the government to expand ethnic interests. on the other hand, it is between the ruling ethnic which owned government and stateless ethnic like Kurds that the history of the last hundred years has been affected by it. For instance, conflict between Kurd with turkey, Iran and Iraq. It can be said that the first cries also is depended on the problem of stateless Kurds because one of the most important antagonism between three ruling ethnics is intervene in each country to support the Kurdish parties against one another. Case in point, dispute between Iran and Iraq especially in the time of Saddam as well as Between Turkey and Syria because of Pkk.

Therefore, the main issue is conflicts between the mono ethnic state (Iran, Arab, and Turk) and stateless ethnic like Kurd. Consequently, the conceptual binary oppositions for example: Muslim- Infidel, Democracy- terrorism, Goodness- Badness and civilized and non-civilized are reflection of ethnic conflict that the ruling ethnic have a monopoly on propaganda, called themselves good and the other - it means stateless and rebel ethnic like Kurd- evil. This contradiction, on the one hand, leads to more authoritarianism of the ruling mono-ethnic states similarity It causes the ideological use of religion, and on the other hand, causes the constant revolts of the stateless people.

Furthermore, just as a class upper in the West that owned capital and ideologic apparatus, upper ethnic in the Middle East due to take over of government, also

monopolize the capital of other stateless ethnics. Therefore, the ruling ethnic also has become the upper class while the ethnics which are under domination become the lower class with the difference that production in the Middle East is the looting of stateless tribes. In Iran, for instance, Persian misuse the oil from Arab, Agriculture and labor from Kurd and Turk. However, its profit is spent on Persian cities. Consequently, government less, ethnic such as Kurd has become the inferior class as well as non- civilized group because of the lack of facilities that are monopolized by the ethnic dominance. This also develop the gaps and widens the ethnic distinction into class and religious conflicts. As a result, ethnic/nation antagonism is the dominant issue to analyze the Middle East crises.....

The history of Kurd From Guti to Khorramdinians

Abstract

An independent history of the Kurds has never been written because the Kurds have never owned an empire-state since the science of history emerged. Great narratives of history narrate great empires. The Kurds, who did not own the empire and the state, have been removed from classical and modern historiographical narratives or reduced as a part of others such as Iran. In pre-Islamic history, history is monopolized by King who decided what would remain in historical memory and how it happened. In Islamic times, too, historians were scribes of the royal court who had no interest in the historiography of peoples without empires. Furthermore, because the source of modern historiography was, on the one hand, classical historians, the Kurds continued to be excluded or reduced in historical narratives, and on the other hand, the central subject of modern social science is the state, and stateless Kurds have not gained the importance of research. In addition, Kurdish historians were unable to deconstruct the framework established by others to write an independent history for the Kurds. For this reason, Kurdish history remains new and unknown, and the lack of narration does not mean the absence of history itself. Many anti-Islamic and anti-Iranian political and social movements were Kurds, however, in historical narratives they are referred to as evil, Zandiq and infidel not as an ethnic group, as today, the repression and genocide of the Kurds is not done in the name of the Kurds, but in the name of terrorism, infidels, Marxism, Mountain and separatists. Kurdish history is the history of the people, not the history of aristocracy and empire. Kurdish history is written, even so not in Kurdish name, in the name of the Other.

The Difficulties of writing Kurd history

It is very difficult to write a generalization on the history of Kurd and its continuity after the Median period. Apart from the book of Badlisi, there is nothing but dispersed information in the works of historians from different countries and at different times in this domain. This information, albeit abundant, does not offer anything complete, and they cannot succeed in compiling a coherent national history of a nation like Kurds who are highly divided among many tribes and clans with each of which having their own independent history (Badlisi, 1860, in edited by Zarnov, 1377/1998). The socalled modern Kurdish historians, without any philosophical understanding and without asking questions have merely repeated and recounted the views of others. For example, contemporary historians such as Safizadeh, Amin Zeki, after going through the description of the Medes, cut two thousand years and arrive at Salah al-Din and contemporary movements, that is, they have no understanding of the historical continuation. These historians have either repeated the viewpoint of the others or they have recounted the events. To write a history of Kurds, one has to collecting countless historical information which is undoubtedly a difficult one. The difficulty is due to several reasons; one is that the Kurds themselves do not have inscriptions and historical writings about their history. Another is that past and even new historians pay more attention to the metanarratives and write the history of empires and occupations. A nation like Kurd, that has had no empires and occupations during the history, has not been attractive to historians to write their history. In fact, the first reason -not having the writing and the inscription ...- derives from the latter one because Islamic period historians were mostly the historians of the courts and empires, and they have composed the history according to the wishes of the kings: Rashid al-Din "Jam'e al-Tawarikh",

historian of the Safavid kings "Ahsan o tavarikh". These historians including Rashid al Din Fazlullah the historian of the Ilkhanites, Beyhaghi the historian of Ghaznavids, Jovini the Mongolian historian, and ... have written down the history under the legitimization and exaggeration of their sovereign kings and in terms of their own religious/ethnic prejudices. In fact, historiography has been the monopoly of the kings. It is possible to risk posing this hypothesis that one of the reasons and origins of historiography has been the flattering kingship, and praising their occupations that the Kurds have lacked such a culture. The Kurds, who lacked the government and empire, did not need to write their own history, and because they lacked the Divani (the court) system, there were no devotees/historians around them to praise their conquest. Sources, inscriptions and works, if any, were lost by others due to the lack of their own political power.

Historiography was not so much important for the pre-Islamic Iran. "There is no real historical monument from pre-Islamic period. Bisotun inscription is a general report from the angle of view of a victorious ethnic group. The important events of the myths that were written at the time of the Sasanians under the title of "God letters have been eliminated as the actions of several characters ... for understanding the representatives of the dominant and ruling classes and they did not convey the realities even as much as a" German epic" carried (Spuler, 1952, 9-10). It is natural that the Iranian kings also overstated the subjects that were to their benefits and they destroyed the history and identity of their opponents like the Kurds

Klima, the great researcher of Mazdakians, reported that there was nothing under the name of historical consciousness and historiography in ancient Iran, and the king has had a speaking monopoly about historical events. Why did not historiography exist in ancient Iran? Because the king by himself ordered all the people of the country like their father, and all the people were like their serfs and it was he who decided what should or should not be recorded for the future (Shahrastānī, cited in Klima, 1957, 47). Therefore, the historical knowledge of

ancient Iran, which is the source of Islamic era and even contemporary historians, has been written in terms of love and hatred of kings and conquerors of history and it cannot reflect the facts correctly. In other words, Iranian text/knowledge has always been the source of ethnic dominance of the Persians. That is why the written history is different from the real history -as Will Durant says. The relationship of text to the social and political context of text production must be taken into consideration.

What ancient historians have brought in Persian or Arabic about the preIslamic history, are based on an important source, Khodayname, which has followed events from the perspective of kings and religious scholars and Zoroastrian preists (Noldeka, cited in Christiensen, 1374/1995: 33). This view has directly entered the writings of Islamic historians and authors and they have not had any other source except Khodainame or Mazdakname (Khalatbari, 108: Humanities Periodical).

It is possible to state the words of Klima and Spuler's, with a little difference, to the Islamic era; however, the analogy of these two eras is not just because many historians who have sometimes been independent have been writing history in the Islamic period, but most of these historians have been able to write history in defending the ideology of the caliphate system and they were court historians of the kings. Therefore, they have not been able to write history out of the framework of of rulers' ideology and they, similar to the kings of ancient Persia, have described the opponents of their sovereignty system with the help of the slander taken from the ideology of the ruling system. There is not much structural differences between this and the historical consciousness of the ancient period. Historians of the ancient Persians and Islamic historians also narrated only the story of the kings. It is because of this that they called the historical books dedicated solely to the history of the kings and empires victories as "the god letter or shahnameh" (Kasravi, 1377/1998: 10). The word of God in the middle period of Islam was changed into "Shah" (king) whose application for

non-God was considered as Shirk (herosity). Godletter turned into Shahnameh in order to avoid the delusion of the word of God in the meaning of the king (Bagheri, 1378:165). Sierra-Muslim is also the Arabic equivalent of Shahnameh (Katouzian, 1380/2001: 12). Both of these became the source of modern historians in historiography.

And since the Kurds did not own the empire and the king, historians did not pay much attention to writing the history of Kurdish dispersions, so the Kurds did not get their share in historiography, however, not writing the history of the Kurds does not mean the absence of this history. Furthermore, as we will see in the following, because the Kurds were the most paganism movement against both Zoroastrianism in Iranian empire and Islam in Arab empire, Caliph, were ignored as an ethnic's movements or were described with religious words like Infidel, Qarmati, heretic, liar and devil not a group of people. To write Kurdish history, the grand narratives of the history of empires must be deconstructed and move from aristocratic, centrist, and imperial historiography to popular and dispersion historiography.

One of the other reasons for Kurd removal from the rule of the truth of history science was the emergence of historiography especially the Greek historiography which was simultaneous with the political decline of the Medes/Kurds and the rise of the Persians in the areana of history. Therefore, Persian words and their political existence became permanent in the domination of truth on this land and marginalized Kurds lagged behind on the fringes of the history science, which I will deal with it elsewhere in detail.

Also, Orientalists' studies that take place in the framework of traditional social science methodology and also in meta narrative of national state have described Kurd history, not as an independent identity, but as part of an Iranian or Islamic identity. They such as classical historians have been interested in big Nation and empire; therefore, they did not give the Kurdish history the importance they deserved.

Another issue in the study of history and the presentation of any image about the continuation of Kurd history is that they have not left behind any inscriptions or writings. Since the Kurds did not name and write about themselves, and they did not possess a government and an empire that could rule most Kurdish tribes, the names of the Kurdish tribes and clans were used other than the general name of Kurd. When Gutes took power, Assyrians introduced the entire Zagros and Kurdistan region as Guti, Kassi, Huri, Mehrani, Mannai and ... ; furthermore, Kurdistan was known with the name of tribes such as Shadadi, Rawadi, Hasnavieh and Ayoubi during the Islamic period. During the Safavid and Ottoman times, Kurds were recognized with the name of the families of Ardalan, Baban, Bedlis ... and in contemporary time were introduced as Barzani, Mukryan, Kermanaj and Since none of the Kurdish tribes has ever been able to form a united and mighty empire through domination or agreement with other tribes, the name of one of the tribes has been recorded in history instead of a common name containing all the Kurdish tribes. Thus, we do not have a general word that indicates the permanent history and existence of Kurds.

Sumerians called Kurd as Kuti, Jut, and Judi The Elamites named them as Kurtesh which they used it in address to Azadgan (freemen). Assyrians and Aramians termed them as Kouti, Kurti, Karti, Kardo, Karda, Kardan and Karadak. Fars people addressed them as Kortesh (it was a name for the slaves in Pars), Kurtin and Syrti Greece and Rome identified them as Kardosu, Kardoxi, Kardok, Kadukai, Kordoin and Mede. Armenians recognized them as Kordoine, Kurjix, Kortix Arabs named them as Kurdi, Kardavi, Bakarda, Karda, Kardukhi, Kurtoxi, "(Khalil, 2011, in trans into Kurdish by Reza: 34). Drayors called them as "Katawiye, Jordi, Judy, Gwadri, Karadak, Sīratti, Ghorondai, Kada, Karaday, Kordeaia ... all are the same in spite of the lack of their resemblance, and Xenophon's Kardoxi and Sumer's Kardai are the names of the same tribe (Zeki, 1931, in trans into Persian by Tabani, 1377/1998). He knows all of them as referring to Kurd people (ibid, 70). Engnand considered the

various names of Mede, Guti, Omanmanda, Manna, Huri, Mehri (Mithra), Mars, etc. as addressing to a particular people, that is, the same Median (Onegenand, cited in Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009).

Before naming the land of Kurds as Kurdistan during the reign of Sultan Sanjar Seljuk, it was called Mad in the ancient times, and before that, as Guti, Manai and Huri . . . With the conquest of the Mede by Pars, the word Kurd/Kurt meaning the slave substituted it. At the time of the Sasanians, they were called as Mei and then as Mah (Elima, 1379/2000: 27). Along with the conquests of Islam, the land of Mad was called Mahin or Jabal. The parts of the Med that were occupied by the Kufa people were called" Mah al-Mokaf", and the parts that were captured by Basra people became known as the "Mah al Basra" (Beladhuri, 9th century, in trans by Azarnosh, 1364/1985: 67). "Nahavand was the administrative center of "Mah al-Busra" and Dinawar was that of "Mah Al kofa" which was called Mahan (Markwart, 1901, in trans by Mirahmadi, 1373/1994: 48). Half of Mede or Mah was at the hands of Kofians and the other half was at the hands of Basrians, and the Caliph ordered to call the Old Median as Mahin or Jibal, the upper part of which was the Mah al-Kofa and the lower part of that Mah al-Busra (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 23). Ma:han is from Helwan near Hamadan (Marquard, same, 45). Arab historians have always considered Esfahan as a part of Mede and Jibal (Markwart, ibid: 45). Thus, the land that later became known as Kurdistan in the Seljuk period was formerly known as "Jibal", "Ma:hin", "Mah al-Busra" and "Mah al-Kofa". Iraq-e Ajam was also a part of Madad state (Frye, ibid: 22). The "Kurdistan" is the same that Arabs called it "Jibal" (Frye, ibid: 72). Arabs included Isfahan, Hamedan, Azarbaijan, Aran and . . . in Jibal where its inhabitants were mostly Kurds (Barthold, cited in Frye, ibid: 72). In the time of Seljuk, the common name of Kurdistan was referred to the areas where the Kurds lived, which we will come to it later.

But this difference in naming does not mean an intrinsic and a real difference, this verbal difference due to the language distinction between the naming people is seen everywhere. Ctesias calls Astiag, the last king of Mede, as "Stovi Gas". Nabonid, the king of Babylon, called him as "Ikh Tuviko", Iranian as "Azhidahak", Marapas, the Armenian historians, named him as Ashdahak, Grishman as Astiaghs, the Babylonian inscriptions termed him as Ishtovigo, Nyberg as Azhish dehako, and Arabs as Zahak. The Greeks called Cyrus as Kors, the French as "Cirus" or "Kirus", the English as "Cyrus" (Photius, 820891, in trans by Khalili, 1379/2000: 20-22). The Egyptian people have called "Mitani" as "Nahari" and the Bible has named it as "Aram Naharam" (ibid: 72). The Greeks called the land between the Aras and the Kor rivers as Albania, Armenians as "Aloghak", and the Iranian, the Arabs, and latin writers as "Aran". It was termed as "Karabakh" in the period of Mongols (Minorsky, 1953, in trans by Khadem, 1387/2008: 16). The Greeks have named Zagros people as Kuti, the Latin writers as Kasi and in the Cuneiform graphs as "Kaso" (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 84). Therefore, others have apparently named us/Kurds. Apart from the period of independent and unified Median sovereignty in which the word "Mede" meaning Mid was derived from their ritual, Mithra, and it was their own word and recognized by others, the Kurds have always been named by others. Even the word of today's Kurd is taken from Kurt and Kurtesh, which means slave. So, in order to write the history of Kurd, it was necessary to take a counter-common approach. Kurdish history cannot be extracted from one or more sources. History is not a macro-narration. Instead, we had to research paleontology, in fact, the archaeology of Kurd history, and via removing the foliage and soils on it (the history of "the others"), discover Kurd history from the footnotes of other sources and random sentences of historians to achieve the general concept of Kurd. To do this, you need to ignore relying on obvious evidence and you must try to deconstruct "the others's texts. The purpose of this article is to write the history of Kurdish political and social movements from the

Goths to the Khorramdins, the majority of which are not known as Kurds in the great historical narratives. They have been described as negative concepts of disbelief, Satan, and irreligion. For this reason, in order to write Kurdish political and conceptual history, on the one hand, one must know the Other of Arab-Islamic, Iranian-Persian and Turkish civilizations, and on the other hand, writing history is Kurds is the revelation or discovery the Other of these civilizations.

From Median to Kurdish:

What is the relationship of Kurds with the Medes? And to which racial and ethnic group Kurds belongs? There are different theories about the origin of the Kurdish race, some consider them from the Jin (goblin or fiend) race¹, others know them as Aryans², and a group identify Kurds as the native of the ³ Zagros and Kurdistan regions. Among the new scientific theories about the Kurds, there

¹ Islamic historians onward consider the Kurds to be the offsprings of the genes. Mohammad Afandi in his book "Taj al Oroos" considers the origin of Kurds as from genes. Based on his idea one-fourth of each Kurd derives from genes since they are lineage of Belqeis -Soleiman's wife – whose mother was from genes. Abo Moayan Nasaghi in "Bahrol Kalam" writes, "Genes attacked and controlled the Harem of the prophet Soleiman. Some of the women there got pregnant as the result of sexual relations with genes and they gave birth to children who are the Kurds. Quoting the Islamic historians, Sharafkhan Bitlisi in Sharaf Name writes: "Demon married mankind and the results were Kurds tribe". Masoudi also in Marwaj o Azahab, volume 3 writes: "When Soleiman lost power, Satan got hands over Soleiman's bond-women in human's appearance. Thus, believers and those who took refuge in God survived but unbelievers and heathens succumbed to Satan and became pregnant from him. Soleiman told those pagan (infidel) bondwomen: take away the Kurds to the mountains and there Kurds came into being as the result of them. Further, Taj al Oroos considers Kurds as people who existed on the earth before the creation of Adam.

² The supporters of the Aryan being school of the Kurds include most of the western historians who considered the kinship and Aryan being of the Mede and Pars. They believed that the Aryans migrated to the regions of Kurdistan and Pars in the first millennium BC. Minoresky, Hertil, Schpigel, Konic, Peasek and... are the supporters of the Aryan being of the Kurds. Garzoni and Soldini defend the Iranian being of the language of the Kurds. Solakmay, Fanloshan and Shatir regard the Kurds as the migrants from the north of Europe since they found the majority of the Kurds in Komajin- the east of Turkey- as blond. Shotolza, who studied the Kurds in the east of Kurdistan, considered the Kurds as brunette and brachycephal (flat-headed) and he questions the Fanloshan's view of northern/Germanic being of the Kurds (Amin Zaki, 1377/1998: 10).

³ Most of the Russian researchers like J. Mar, Diakonoff, Petrofesky and some western writers like Sikas and Spizar were the supporters of the native or aboriginal being of the Kurds and Medes.

are two Aryan and native schools that were presented respectively by the two famous theorists of Kurdish history. Minorsky is the proponent of the Aryan School Medes being and Marr is the proponents of the school of the Medes being aboriginal of the region. However, both have something in common that they consider Kurds as the descendants of the Medes. (Nikitin, 1956: 55). As the prominent scholars studying Kurds (Diakonoff, Aliev, and Marr) consider the Medes as descendants of the Guties, two Kurdish well-known scholars (Minorsky and Marr) also consider the Kurds as the descendants of the Medes. One of the most well-known Orientalist who introduced the theory of Kurdish emigration and then stuck in conflict with his contradictions, was Western Minorsky, a Russian in origin. At the twentieth Orientalist Congress in Brussels in 1938, Minorsky correctly put forward the theory of the Median origins of the Kurds (Minorsky, 1949: 143-152).

He considered the Kurdish language and Median language as derived from the same root. He also identified Kurdish race as a combination of the ancient clans of the Merdoies and Kurdowies, who spoke in the accent close to Median language (Tabani, 1380/2001: 92). He regarded the Kuretois, the Kordechi, and the Mards as the Median tribes (Minorsky, cited in Nikitin: 48).

Minorsky writes: Kurdish is an Iranian language, but it is somewhat separate from Persian ... Kurds in ancient times had a strong language that all of today's dialects were derived from it ... Kurdish language is rooted in the language of the Medes, and the Median tribes must be identified as Kurds" (Minorsky, cited in Sultani 1382/2003: 25-24). Expansions of Kurds have only been made through the Minor Mede or Atropatne, i.e. the present-day Azarbaijan" (Minorsky, cited in Nikitin: 44). He also considered Kurmanj as comprised from two parts, Kurd and Mann Or Mannaies and Medes" (ibid, P. 50)

This part of Minorsky's statement is acceptable and logical; therefore, we, Kurds, must thank him for presenting the theory of the Median root of the Kurds.

After the recent archeological discoveries indicating the existence of Kurd's name up to two thousand years ago, Minorsky presented this unconvincing theory, "Kurds have moved from the east of Iran to the west- today's Kurdistan. This does not prevent the matter that some people or tribes have lived with a name similar to Kardo in central Kurdistan which had been mixed with immigrants" (Minorsky, cited in Zeki, 1931: 44). As Amin Zeki has correctly pointed out it's unlikely that there would be two peoples with the same name, but with a separate race in two parts of the world" (Zeki, ibid: 66). Other than Minorisky, other writers also make a distinction between Kurd, Kard and ... which may not be true. As Minorsky himself later admitted, "the land of the old Kardoshowi, today is the main center of the Kurd people ... Kurdsho and Kurd are the same names and two people of Kurd and Khaledi are equal (Minorsky, cited in Zeki, 1931: 47). Thus, the theory of Kurds migration in the first millennium BC is very weak, and the theory of Spizar and ... which believe that the Kurds ancestors were the main and old residents of Zagros and Kurdistan is more logical (Zeki, ibid: 75). Many other Iranian and foreign scholars also accepted the Median roots of Kurds.¹

From Gutian to Median:

¹ Darmester and Soun regard the Medes as the Kurds and the Kurdish language as the remaining of the Median language (Safizada, 1385/2006: 61). Edmonds says the Kurdish language is the remaining of the the old Iranian language and the Median language (Edmonds, cited in Safizada, ibid: 61). Beowar Alima also writes: thousands of years be-ore the advent of the Turks into the Minor Asia, some local people from the races of Yafsi, Sami and Aryan formed the inhabitants of Kurdistan and Xenphon's Kardoxis ... are the ancestors of the first ethnic group of the Kurds. Moreover, Strabo's Kurti- Kurdoen- and Khalidies have had a share in the formation of the racial element of the Kurd which the Kurdish language changed Yafesi into Aryan with the advent of the Medes and Pars. He also considers the Medes to be the most legitimate efficient factor in the formation of the ethnic element of the Kurd (The last colony, the crisis of Kurdistan of Turkey from the beginning up to now, Beowar Alima, Tehran, Pazhohanda publication, 1379/2000: 9). Furthermore, Karnama-ye Ardashir-e Babakan have mentioned the Median Kurds (G.B. Akof and ..., 1376/1997: 18). Hassan Pirnia, too, considers today's Kurdish language as being derived from the Median language (Pirnia,1376: 76).

Due to the lack of a Kurdish Empire, there are plenty of names such as Guti, Madi, Mehri, Oman Manda, and ... addressing the Kurds; thus, others have moduled one of the leading tribes in addressing the Zagros residents. In the

history of Akkad, Oman Manda has been mentioned in address to the Medes, but in Nabonid's letter, there are talks about the Mede's army (in Aliev, 1960: 392). He mentions Hokheshtera, the Mede's king, in line 24 of the Mede History, but in line 38 he commemorates the king of Oman Manda. Diakonoff considers both terms as the same, and he recognizes Manda to be a Median government (Aliev, ibid: 401). Oman Manda is also used to refer to Astiag, the Medes and Guties in the interpretation of Nabonid (Gershevitch, I (editor), 1985: 655). Comprehensive investigation of this term -Oman Manda- convinced J. Kamrotsi that they are the same Medes (Oyaji, 1381/2002: 49)¹⁰. Strerk knows Medes, Oman Manda, and Matis as the same. Ismichk and Prasek also identifies Oman Manda, Mad, Mitani, and Manaie as identical (Nikitin, 1956: 46). Similarly, Onegnand realizes the names of Oman Manda, Mad, Manaie, Mitani, Huri and Guti in reference to a particular people, i.e. the Medes (Aliev, 1960: 100). Also, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, the Manaies were closely related to the Medes (Pirnia, 1362/1983). The images depicted in the Assyrian inscriptions of Manaies shows pictors and images the same as those drawn from the Medes that this indicates their ethnic/cultural identicality (Khonji, Ali, 1358/1979:162). As the result of the excavations obtained from Babylon -23 AH- the names of Guti and Oman Manda are mentioned together (Clark and Willermet, 1997, in trans by Biglari, 1375/199: 33). The Spizar writes in the history of the Near East when Sargon II pushes out Guties from babylon in the 28th century BC, he sought after them up to Madayan state (Tabani, 1380/2001: 91). Therefore, as Diakonoff also pointed out, the term "Mad" was common before the arrival of the Aryans. In the 28th century BC, Sargon has used the term Mede, that is, Median as the same native Gutian, whose record of presence dates back to 3,000

years BC. Ashtiani also writes that the Medes were known at the time of Babylonian Hammurabi (Ashtiani, cited in the Tabani, 1380/2001: 94). Thus, the presence of the Medes in Zagros traces back to 23 centuries BC. They (the Medes) have been relatives with Gutians, Hurrian. Manaians, Mehrians, Ma:rs, and ... and they have fromed the same race with them. No longer the hypothesis of Median migration and being Aryan in the first millennium BC seems to be defensible.

Some researchers have pointed out that the name Mede is rooted in the word Mehr-Mithra. Mede means middle which implicates either Mitani or central. Armenian historians refer to the Medes as Mars. The ethnic group of the Mar, which the ancient writers have mentioned¹³, lived in the area between Lake Van and Uromia. There lived Mehri and Mehran tribes in the same district, as based on Assyrian resources, in the 13th Century AC. There has also been talked about Mehri state in the contracts of Hitti kings in the 13th century BC. It has been pointed out in the Assyrian resources of the 7th Century BC that the inhabitants of the Western Media were speaking in Mehrani language. The word "Mhr" is the shorter form of the very old term of the Mehr (Aliev, ibid: 100-101). The deletion of h is a general phenomenon in Asian languages that makes the Maher word turn into Mar (Aliev, ibid: 161). Esarhaddon spoke about the people of Mehr of Mehrani in Zagros (ibid). Theophilacus considered Mehr and Mehrani as one of the famous Median families, which later became known as an Iranian tribe. Mehr tribes are placed on the list of non-Iranian peoples, i.e. Hurianis and Mehranini belong to the Horian/Subari tribe (ibid: 101). So, Ma:r and Ma:d has been derived from Mehr and they were all Mehr (Mithra)-preachers. Mehr or Mithra was their religion and the names of Manda, Mad and Mar were taken from it. Mar, Medes, Mehr, Mantani, Oman Manda, Manais, Hurians, and Guties, were all tribes of the same ethnicity/nation. No inscriptions of the Medes have been found; thus, whenever one of the chiefs of the tribes were in charge, the neighbors have mentioned the name of that tribe for all the Medians.

Therefore, there was no general name covering all the Median tribes, because they had no empire and the general government under one umbrella term. It is only in the 7th century AD after the formation of the Mede Empire, the common name of Mede is used for all the tribes of Zagros and Kurdistan.

From Gutian and Kardokhi to Kurdish:

Most of the researchers² have confirmed the sameness of Kurd, Kurti, and Kardo. Driver correctly identifies Kurti, Kardai, Kardokhi, Kurtoxi, Kardak, Kurdoen and ... as the same despite their dissimilarities and he considers Xenphon's Kardokhoi and Sumer's Kardai as the name of the same clan indicating Kurd ethnic group (Zeki, ibid: 64). There has been named a place called Kurxich in Armanin geography. Adonts, the writer of the book "Armania", believes that Kurxich is originated from Kurtich that means Kurd. Fostos, the orientalist, considers Kurdox, Kurdix, Tamorix as the land of Kurdoen. Hobshman, who has tried a lot to find out the differences between Kurdix and Kurtiyo, identifies their distinction due to the verbal difference that

² Risk considers Khaledi, Kurdi, Alkordi and Kurdia to be the same and Lorch admits this, too (Minorsky, cited in Amin Zeki, ibid: 47). M.S. Aivanov, A. Grantefeski, M.A. Dandamayev, and G.A. Koshlenoko believe that "based on archiological traces, the plantation of barley and wheat initiated in the mountainous regions of Kurdistan and Lorestan ... for the first time. Further, they regard the beginning of animal husbandry and texture as in Kurdistan and they emphasize that the Kurds have been known in today's Kurdistan from the ancient time and the Kurties were the same today's Kurts or Kurds". The history of Iran, ancient Iran, M. S. Aivanoef and ... translated by Siros Izadi, Hossein Tahvili. Donia publication. 1359/1980: pages 23 & 72. Ihsan Noori Pasha, the Kurd historian, knows Kardo, Hori, Sobari and Mitani to be all Guti, too (Pasha, 2003: 19).

Noldeke and Hartman have also accepted it" (Minorsky, cited in Zeki, ibid: 4849). Two inscriptions from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta, the Assyrian ruler, with regard to Guti, calls it as Guti, in one of the inscriptions and in the other one as

Kurti. It means both are one, and it has been addressed to the same ethnithity (Zeki, ibid: 64).

Smith is also one of those researchers that have accepted the sameness of kurd and Kardoxi and he accepted the words used to refer to Kurd in Babylonian inscription in 2300 BC. Thus, "Kurdkay" in Sumerian tablets, Kurdxoi in Xenophon and Amadai in Assyrian inscriptions are all referring to the Kurds (Zarinkob, 1384/ 2005: 333).

Kurdxoi, which Xenophon referred to in his book, is the same name as Kurds. The word in the Armenian language is the sign of plural (Minorsky, cited in SafiZade, 1385/2006: 64). Minorsky described the land that Xenophon spoke of as the Kurds cradle (Minorsky, cited in Tabani, 1385/2006: 54). Following Xenophon, some called the left bank of the Tigris, Mount Jody and Ararat less as Kardoxoi, but rather more as Kurdoen. In the first century AD, Strabo considers the Tigris coastal part as belonging to this tribe (Strabo, cited in Safizade, 1385/2006: 65). Drivers knows changes in this name due to the difficulty of pronouncing "K" in the Semitic ... this region is Kardo in Aramian language, and the island of Ibn Umar as Ghazarratti, Kardu and ... in Armenians it is Kurdox and the Arabs called it as Bakarda and Kardai Yaghot Hamawi considers Bakarda as part of the island of Ibn Umar ... Karda later became Bohtan ²⁴ and the island of Ibn Umar" (Zeki, ibid: 45). Majorson knows Kurdoens as the ancestors of today Kurd and the children of famous Medes. He also knows the land of Nairi, which Sennakherib (682-705) fought against them in accordance with his inscription on Mount Jody as the same area that changed

t to Kurdoen (Zeki, *ibid*: 92). Kurdoen was renamed as the island of Ibn Umar and Bohutan at the time of Islam (Khalil, 2011, in trans into Kurdish by Ali: 33). This is the place where, according to the Minorsky, has always been the cradle of Kurds (Minorsky, cited in the Tabani 138/2001: 54).

In the book “the tribes of Mezopotamia, Spizar mentions the Kurds as the descendants of the Medians, Gutian race and Hurries in Zagros mountains (Nikitin, 1956, in trans by Qazi, 1377/1998: 42). He traced the history of the Kurds to 6,000 years earlier, believing that there is no history of a nation older than the Kurds in Zagros and the current Kurdistan²⁵. Henry Felinenz believes that the Kurds were the first men to come to the northwest of Iran during the ancient rocky period, settled in Sulaimaniyah and ... to Rawandez and ... (Semi journal, 1935 vol 51, cited in Tabani, 1380/2001: 64). In Hamadan, a bronze head was found from the Gutian kings kept at the Bremer Museum of the New York Gallery which, according to Sir Kissoon, is very similar to the Zagros Kurds (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 11)

G. Qapantesyan considered the name of Mannda taken from the Kurdish people, and he knew Ma:nda and Ma:ni as the same as the name of Kurmanj, the majority of the Kurds (Aliyev, the same, 183). Minorsky, also identified the Kurmanj as the plural of Kurd and Ma:n or Man:is and the Medes (Nikitin, *ibid*: 50). Ryseke knows the term "Gutti", "Koti", "Kurti" and "Kurdi" as the same that all are now known as Kurds (Safi Zade, 1385/2006: 65). Albert Olmsted also considers the Kurds as from Mitanies race (Olmsted, 1948, in trans by Moghadam, 1384/2005: 14). Assyrian documents use the names of the Guties and Medes in the place of each other, he mentions the land of Mede as the land of Guti The first tribe named in the Median union were the same people of Guti. In the Babylonian documents, it is ironically indicated that the Guties bend their knees to the Median kings. That is, the Guties and the Medes had both the same language and race The mainland of the Guties is today's Kurdistan, and

Guti and Mede are the ancestors of today's Kurds. (Khonji, 1358/1979: 143 – 144)

Medes/Kurds: Natives or Aryans?

There are different opinions about the relation of the Medes with the tribes living on the Mede soil -Guti and Caspi- and ... whether they are natives or Aryans; some of the researchers' have known Medes as Aryan who migrated to the Zagros and current Kurdistan in the first millen-nium BC. These scholars identify Medes not as natives, but immigrants. As a result, Medes have nothing to do with the tribes living in these areas, such as Gutes, Hurrians, Caspians, Mannaians, and others. These scholars do not deny the existence of indigenous peoples in the Mede union, but they consider all the Mede civilization, the formation of their state and the conquest of Ashur as due to the domination of the Aryan aristocracy on the natives. Thus, they deny any racial/linguistic connection between the Medes and the tribes residing there earlier, that is, Guti, Huri and Some other scholars³ accept dominating Aryan language on the Mede union from the 7th century AD. But they do not take this language domination as the population influence of the new immigrants on the indigenous peoples⁴, and they consider Medes, both politically and racially/linguistically, as the outcome of the indigenous peoples of Guati, Lolubi, Caspi, Mannaya, Mitani, Mehrani Therefore, they know Medes as having the same race and culture of other native people in Zagros.

The Proponents of the Aryanism of the Medes first believed that the Aryans migrated to the Iranian plateau in the first millennium BC. The Assyrian inscriptions refer to Amada and Parsova for the first time in the scroll of Shalmansar I in 846 AD. Therefore, the fans of Aryan school posed that the Aryans migrated to Iran in the first millennium BC. The formation of the first

empire in Iran by the Medes and then by the Persians was the result of the advent of the superior Aryan race in the region and the domination of Aryan aristocracy on the natives of the region. Later, it was proved via the new archiological discoveries that there were similarities between Medes and the earlier tribes of Ma:nia, Mitani, Gutes, and Cassi ethnically and racially. The researchers that recognized every civilization as the result of the dominance of the Aryan nobility on other races and they considered the natives as incapable of forming a government and civilization later reformed their theory. Therefore, they regarded the migration of the Aryans as two groups, some of which immigrated to the Iranian plateau and the Zagros earlier at 3,000 years BC.

For example, the supporters of the Aryan school, which had previously defended the Aryans (Mede and Pars) migration in the first millennium of BC, they reconsidered their position after the discovery of several Aryan terms among the names of the Hurian kings -from the third millennium BC and they recognized the Hurians as Aryan migrants. After it turned out that the Horyans were mentioned in the Akadian cuniform tablaues, Hurians were considered with regard to all the people of northwestern Iran" (Kurdistan, Qaderi) in the general sense. Thhe Horyans were first seen in the east mountains and later in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and even in A'natoli ... which they spoke various languages (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 78). Thus, immigration hypothesis was questioned in the first millennium and they hypothesized that the Hurian were the native masses of the same regions, and only the aristocracy and their rulers, the Mitani migrants, were Aryans. Then, in the tablets of Boghazkoy, a contract was found between the rulers of Mitani and Hittite which has mentioned the so-called Aryan gods (Mithra, etc.). Especially that these tablets belonged to 1,400 years BC. (Thieme, 1960: 301). They proposed a new hypothesis other than the major Aryan mass migration in the first millennium BC and that Aryans migrated to the Zagros areas several thousand years before. But if Indian Hindi marched to the west, how would they have gotten to the West

of Iran and Zagros without leaving a trace in Iran and where are their works? (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 82). As Richard Frye pointed out, all of our awareness of Indian immigration is speculation. Grishman reconstructed Hindian movement and migration based on ancient works, gray and black clay containers, the statue of women, and the horseback rings and the golden and silver horns in Gorgan to Turkmenistan- which they have come to Mithani -and this has caused Indians to come to the eastern corner of the Caspian Sea in the 4th millennium BC. Such works have also been found in Urumia and Mesopotamia and . . . Therefore, Gireshman's reasons are unacceptable, and we cannot speak about their Iranian and Indian origins. Thus, according to new research on the relationship between the Medes and Guties and Mannais, and the unfounded hypothesis of Aryans immigration three thousand years BC, now the hypothesis of the Medes⁷ being the native people of the region seems to be convincing.

Most of the writers who support the Medes being aryan of the region are Iranian history scholars and they have viewed the history of the Zagros and Medes as a branch of Iranian history⁸, and they have never independently studied the Median and Zagros tribes comprehensively. Regarding the history of the Medes and the tribes that made up the Medes Union, only two writers have studied them independently and in detail. They both identified the Medes' union as the outcome of the Zagros tribes, namely, Gutians, Casaians, Lolubians and Mannayas and they considered Mede not as Aryan migrants, but as native people of Zagros and Kurdistan, which they have been the continuation of the same natives. This is merely the Aryan language that gradually has emerged from the eastern part of Medes and became the dominant Median language from 800 BC. In the following, we will come briefly and with a little change to Diakonoff's views that have more scientific value, then Aliev and Marr.

Herodotus mentioned the six tribes in the Median union: Those six tribes lived in the triangular-shaped place between Hegmataneh, Rey and Isfahan

(Aspadana) (Gershevitch, 1985: 75). Mogh tribes settled in Ray (Raga) and modern Tehran, apparently to meet the spiritual needs of the Medians (Zumerchik and Danver, 2010: 33). Partaceni tribe lived inside and around Aspadana. Arizanti tribe were located near and inside Kashan and Busae tribe stayed near or surrounding the capital of the future Mede, Hegmataneh. Budi and Struchates lived in the villages of the Mede center (Thomson, 1948: 43).

According to Diakonoff, among the six tribes that Herodotus mentioned:

"Busians", "Paratachenians", "Strokhatians", "Ksitsyan", "Buddians", "Arizantian", and "Magus" only Paratachenian tribe in Esfahan region has an Iranian root and "Arizantian" has an obvious derivation of Iranian root. Arizantians were known as Aryan tribes among other tribes; thus, other Median tribes could not have Aryan origin, that is, they were not Iranians. The main masses of the Medes were formed from Guthian and Elamite tribesmen and Casipians who acquired the language of the Indian newcomers, not that the inhabitants of that district were totally replaced. The inhabitants of the Media were the same inhabitants of Guti and Caspian and ... only their language became Aryan. This fact that there has not been found an Indo-European root for the names of the tribes of Busian, Maguses, and Budians up to now and also this point that we can hardly find an Iranian root for more than half of the particular names of the Medes originating from the ninth and eighth centuries both will confirm the above statements. Maguses and Arizantian lived in the east of Mad near Raga, the present Tehran, Busayan in Hamedan and the Buddians were the westernmost tribe of Mede. Bodian and Bussyan which were among the main tribes forming the Mad Union, have not accepted any effects of Aryans, and there is no evidence that they are Aryan's. There are some effects of Aryan language on Maguses and Arizantianins were at the easternmost point of the Medians and they were under the influenced the newcomer Aryans from the East.

Median names having Iranian roots are found in the seventh century BC and the Aryan language was the common language of the Median tribal union. But

the main ethnic composition of Median people were Kuttis, Lolubians, Mehranis, Hurions and Casis, not Aryans. Some of the terms and names of the people may have changed, but there is no reason for the massive transfers of people from one point to another. Therefore, the ethnic composition of the people of that land (Mede) has been unchanged since the third millennium to the beginning of the first thousandth.

We cannot find a clear origin for the word "Mad" in Iranian language; though, it is Medai and Amadi in Assyrian, Medi in Greek, Mar in Armenian, and Matt in Parthian. Median tribes' unions existed as a non-Iranian tribal alliance and its Iranian part only later joined it. The Iranian part of the land of the Med inhabitants was formed only later in the form of a separate Aryan tribe ... The term Medes may have the Elamite-Cassipi root; however, the term Medes has long been common in this land. Mannies, which formed the core of the Median kingdom, were the manifestation of the Guti-Lolubi government. Guthic language was an independent language from the same root with Huri and not an Aryan language. Guti's term was a general term used to refer to various tribes living in the north and east of Babylon, and they called all the people of Manna and Mede as Guti (Diakonoff, 1985: 100-145).

Guti's term was a general term used for all the tribes of Zagros and Kurdistan ... Babylonians and Assyrians sometimes referred to the Medes and Mannesis as Gutis (Diakonoff, cited in Ziapour, 1355/1976: 384-385). Diakonoff correctly pointed out that the Madi Union was a non-Iranian (Aryan) tribal union, and the Iranian section of its inhabitants later joined it. This word of Diakonoff is true, but there is no document available about the presence of the Iranians in the Median Union except Herodotus writing. Herodotus wrote the book in the 4th century AD when Iranians dominated Medians, i.e. he has written down the names of the Median tribes in the period of Iranianization and influence of the Iranians in Mede. This means that later tribes from the Iranian aristocracy have infiltrated Mad soil along with the capture of the Mede land the same as the time

when some Arab tribes emigrated to Mad (Mede) after its capture. Therefore, the mention of the Iranian tribes in the Median Union in Herodotus has not been a valid reason for their presence in the Median Union in the 7th century AD. Herodotus has brought the names of some Persian tribes for the formation of the Persian Achaemenid empire, which did not exist before, and were probably natives or Scaians, and subsequently went under the domination of the Persians in political terms or declarations of subordination. (Zarinkob, 1368/1989: 85). Herzfeld and Hintz correctly identified Medians as Sagratians who led the Medes in the uprising against Darius and they considered them to be the ancestors of today's Kurds (Herzfeld, 1967 49; Hinz, 1987, in trans by Rajabi, 1386/2007: 55). Even the root of the Zagros word is derived from the name Zagarti/Sagarti, which has been converted to Zagros. Sagartia and their military elites may have given way to Persians after some failure from Darius or it is possible that part of them have been forced to migrate to Pars regions; thus, Herodotus has brought them under the name of Persians (Azkaii, 1368/1989: 45). Therefore, Herodotus has brought Sagartia in line with the Persian tribes. However, they were not Persian tribes, but they were Medians. Herodotus has mentioned Arizintans and Magus as part of Median tribes, but they were Persians. Herodotus did not name the Mede tribes whose political weight were decreased during the domination of Iranians on Medes -i.e. during Herodotus' life time- or when they were marginalized because of the Iranians ruling like Maran, Mehriyan, Kurti, Kurdokhi and Diakonoff also pointed out that Matinans, Kadosians, Manaians, and Lolubians called themselves as Median a century and a half after Persian ruling over the Medes (ibid: 416) which their names were not stated as part of the Mede union in Herodotus' book. Therefore, Herodotus's book is not a good source for accepting the existence of Iranian/Aryan in the Mede union.

“Aliev” also has ideas similar to Diakonoff's about the unification of the Medes and the indigenous tribes of Zagros, such as the Guties and ... and the

Medes being as the natives of the region. In his opinion, there was no centralized mass of Iranian-speaking ethnicities in the western and northwestern regions of the future land not in the nineteenth nor in the eighth centuries, and IranianAryan elements gradually penetrated into the Mad land in the late eighth and early seventh century (Aliev, 1960: 21). All the nomologic sources belonging to the early period considered the formation of the ethnic union of Mada, Matheti and ... as completely non-Iranian speaking but as Caspian speaking people (ibid: 122 and 129). He identified Arizantian as an alien and foreign element in the Mede Union because in the Sargon script there has also come the word "Arribe" (Aryan) independently and with no relation to the Medes. Later, they joined it as an alien ethnic group distinctive from all other Mede tribes under the name the Aryan people (ibid: 129). He considers the Medes and Mannas as the direct heir of the unity of the Guti-Lolubi tribes, and he recognizes Ma:rs, Omanmanda, Guti, Caspi, Mannaia, Mehrian and Hurian as the tribes forming the future Mede (ibid: 115 & 291). He was also against the artificial separation of the Medes from cassips and native Guti tribes (ibid, 122). He regards the idea of presenting Medes as being Iranian as a harmful and superficial biaswhich was built based on metaphysical dead views. (ibid, 120).

Nikolai Marr (1864-1934), the originator of the Japhetic theory on the origin of language, considers Zagros ethnic groups to be neither Semitic nor IndoEuropean, but Japhetic. He regarded his most important contribution as the struggle against the theory of migration. He defended the Medes to be as the indigenous people and not to be Iranians (Marr, cited in Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009: 119). He identifies Meds as the racial outcome of Guti, Kashi, Subaru, Mitani and Huri tribes which have a much older history than Aryan immigration. From his point of view, Median language has made a fundamental change and it has changed from the Japhetic language into Arians. But this change of language does not mean the change of the inhabitants and the race, and the Medes are natives, not Aryans (Marr, cited in Nikitin, 1956, in trans

by Qazi, 1377/1998: 51-55). Of course, Marr's word saying that Median language has changed and Aryan language has been moduled on them, is not correct because, as Will Durant noted, the Persians borrowed their language and writing from the Medes

Guamata and Ferawartish being Kurd:

In this section, we will prove Gaumata uprising as Median. We will review the analysis and the manner of the uprising, the goals of the Guamata uprising, or religion, was it the response of Maguses, or against it, was it Zoroastrians or against them later. Our hypothesis is that the Gaumata uprising and its continuity in Farhurtish was the reaction of the Medes against the domination of the Persians, and the bursting the dissatisfaction from the loss of the Medes' independence by Cyrus the Achaemenid. This uprising occurred on March 11, 522 AH. M (Ivanov, cited in Arvidovich, 1977, in trans by Keshavarzi, 1359/1980: 78) after the Cambyses' campaign in Egypt and 28 years after the Medes, leading by Astiag, were defeated by Cyrus. It is narrated that it lasted seven-months from around spring up to the end of the Meher.

There are various views and interpretations about the Guamata uprising; some scholars have questioned the Median aspect of the Gaumata uprising, but the majority of ancient and contemporary historians have confirmed the Median aspect of the Gaumata's uprising.²⁸ The scholars who question the Median aspect of the Gaumata uprising and regard Gaumata-Samirdis, not as a Median person, but as the real brother of the Cambyses' brother provide the following arguments In the following, we look at these arguments critically and say that It does not mean, of course, that he is not Median. True Bardia also came from the second wife of Cyrus, Astiag's captured daughter that we will address in the following chapters. Here, we refer only to Median being of Guamata's uprising.

1- One of the reasons of scholars for the denial of Bardiya's slaying and also Gaumata's uprising being Median are the contradictions that exist in the sources about the time, place, and the way of Bardia's killing. "Information about the slaughter of the Bardia is contradictory. According to Herodotus, Bardia participated in Cambyses' deployment of troops to Egypt and then he was dispatched to Iran and killed. Bistoun inscription says Bardya was killed before the start of the campaign against Egypt, and this issue was concealed from the people. Csetises writes that this murder took place before Cambyses seized Egypt" (Dandamayev, 1963, in trans by Roohi Arbab 1373/1994: 171-170). The controversies of historians about the time and manner of Bardia's murder are not a convincing argument in rejecting the reality of the event. Due to the lack of reliable documents and a clear chronology of events, and also the absence of a serious obstacle to the absolute authority of the Iranian kings, such contradictions in all ancient historical affairs is natural. The calenders of Nabonid and Nicholas Damascus have mentioned a great deal of wars for three years in the struggle between the Medes and the Persians, which led to the final defeat of the Medes. However, many others such as Herodotus have denied this happening as if it has occurred during one day and the Medians themselves have accepted the Persian domination without any serious war. Further, Herodotus regards Diako as the founder of the Median State in 715 AD, while Assyrian documents not only did not consider Diako as the founder of Medes' ruling but also they have written about their domination on the Median land and the Medes obedience to them. They also pictorialised Diako, not as the founder of the Medians, but as one of the chiefs of Mannai -not as Medians but as a chief man. The inconsistencies' reason in the time and place of Bardia was the result of murder in complete concealment. Due to the popularity of Bardia and his removal as a rival in his own way, Cambyses did not openly took responsibility for determining the time and place of his murder. Although according to

Bisotun' writing (DB I, 30ff) and Photius, 820-891 BC), Ctesias of Cnidus: 10), the slaughter of Bardia was before the battle against Egypt, Herodotus cited it as simultaneously with Egypt battle (Her, III, 63). Trogus-Justin even regard it after the death of Cambyses (Chisholm, ed. 1911, (Trogus-Justin)). Nonetheless, all sources cast no doubt on the death of Bardia, even the reseaon beyond the killing of the younger sister of Bardia-Cambyses. She had gone to Egypt with him, and Cambyses had taken her as his wife because of her protest to the murder of Bardia (Herodotus, 1987, in Trans by Mazandarani 1384/2005: 209) as she was Astiag's descendant.

2- The similarity reported in the classical sources between Magus and Cambyses' brother (Herodotus, *ibid*: 220) reflects the fact that there was no Magus Gaumata in the king's throne. Herodotus called Cyrus the son of Samirdis, and the Magus who seized the power as the son of Cyrus was also called Samirdis (Olmsted, 1938: 396). These two were very similar, and distincing them from each other was not an easy task. Ctesias also says that this Magus was remarkably similar to Tania Exarat (Dandamayev, 1989: 88). In reaction, it must be said that it is true that Herodotus has mentioned the similarity of the appearance, but he has not written that they had the same name, but he says that the Magus' brother took his name just because he wanted to rue with Samirdis (Herodotus, 1987: 220). The similarity of Magus and Cyrus' son may well indicate that the authors have not conceived other reasons for the long-term concealment of the murder (Wiesehofer, 1978, in trans by Sadeghi 1389/2010: 57). The story of Gaumata's similarity with Bardia is one of the poetic exagerations of the ancient historians that have not been mentioned in the inscription of Bishtoun (Zarinkob, 1368/1987: 142). Therefore, there is no documentary about the similarity of the appearance of the Magus/Gaumata and Bardia, and the resources have made simplifications in this case (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 89).

3- It is not acceptable that the slaughter of Bardia should remain hidden to such an extent not only from the eyes of the empire, but also from the eyes of relatives, friends and servants of Bardia for five years (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 89). In response, it should be said that the vast majority of those who knew Bardia, along with Cambyses, were in Egypt for three years old; thus they thought he was king's brother in the court (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 57). This point also suggests the fact that they did not believe Cambyses' confession to the murder of Bardia and believed that Bardià-Samardis has personally revolted. Even "Prokizasp" had seriously denied that he has killed "Samirdis" because it was dangerous for him to confess that one of the Cyrus' sons was murdered in his hands after Cambyses' death (Herodotus, 2008 224). On the other hand, there may also be some among those aware of the murder that chose to be silent due to the fears and opportunism.²⁹ In addition, Herodotus declares that Mausg never left the palace, and no one was allowed to appear before the Shah. Although "Fidome", Atans' daughter, was in the court, she had never seen Bardia (Herodotus, 1387: 225).³⁰

4- In contrast to other false kings, Darius has focused on concealing Guamata's descent and lineage, and he would not show the victim's body to the public" (Dandamayev, 1963, in trans by Roohi Arbab 1373/1994: 179). According to Darius' inadequate reports, critics questioned the trueth that the one whom Darius killed was really Gaumata, but the opposite deduction is true, because if Darius wanted to conceal the slaughter of Bardia, he could have given more accurate data about him to overcome the doubts regarding of the Magus' past. The conditions following Gaumata's killing was different from the execution of other false kings, "killing the Magus was a coup d'etat, and the Darius' next state of affairs was extremely dangerous. However, the execution of other insurgents was different: they were executed to give lessons to other possible insurgents seeking victory in the unrests and showing Gaumata's corpse would provoke these insurrections (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 58). Introducing

Gaumata as Magus was due to this fact that Darius would recognize him as lacking the legitimacy and competence for the Imperial kingdom and that Herodotus considered Maguses to be Median resulted from Darius' misleading ideological propaganda, though neither Gaumata was Magus nor Magis Median.

5- Dandamayev regards the transfer of the Guatmata capital from Persia to Mede as the result of the tradition of the Achaemenid kings to go to Ecbatan cool air in the summer (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 200). It should be noted that Ecbatan had a cool climate during the summer and Cyrus the second moved ther in the summer while Guatmata moved when it was summer and early in the autumn, when Ecbatan's climate was cold and unbearable. If he followed the old tradition, Gaumata should have moved to Ecbatan in the early summer, not late summer. In fact, the acceptance of Guatmata from the side of the other nations (Babylon, Egypt and Armenia, etc.) made Gaumata bold and reveal his being a Median.

6- Dandamaeyev writes: Darius is introduced as the Savior from lies and chaos and not the Savior from the Medes, and Gaumata is the realization of the lie, not the Savior of the Medes. Therefore, in the inscription, there is no evidence of Median being of the Gaumata's uprising (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 206). In response, it should be said that Kurdish revolts and their repression today are not introduced as the suppression of Kurds, but as the suppression of the agents of the aliens, the evil parties, the corruptors on earth and the thugs. In contrast, Kurds are construed as the Iran's friends and martyrs of the political system. Dandamayev is not familiar with the Iranian political culture that the political wisdom of Iran and Iranian leaders have always discribed their opponents under the name of the general concepts of liars, enemies, thugs, evil agents before and the agents of the aliens now and ... throughout history to have the legitimacy of oppression in the eyes of the common people. The Achaemenids used to speak about the shared domination of Medes and Pers in order to gain legitimacy and preserve their dominance in the Medes after dominating the Medes. Thus, the Achaemenid introduced the suppression and the slaughter of Magis not as the

suppression and massacre of Medians and their uprising to save face and distort the minds of the Medians not to lead to another insurgent. Today, the slaughter and imprisonment of Kurdish political activists are introduced as killing of drug and drink smugglers and terrorists. Darius' too much insistence on introducing Gaumata as a Magus was due to this reason that makes him seem incapable in connection to ruling (Mashkor, 1375/1996: 155 and Olmsted, 1938). The other reason for introducing Gaumata as a Magus and killing of Medes in Nasaya as the massacre of Magus was that Medians hated Magus due to the traitor of Magus towards Astiag and helping Cyrus to rule the Medians. Therefore, through introducing uprising as that of Magus, Darius sought to diminish the legitimacy and authority of Gaumata in Mede so that they do not rebel against his killing in Mede. Darius' distortion does not only include the Gaumata and recognizing him as being Magus, but also it goes back to his lineage too. "Based on the evidence of the origin of Darius, Vishtasp, who is the son of Gushtasb is nicknamed as Vishtasp, the son of king" (Kent, 1953: 95).

7- Dandamayev says that since Darius has introduced Gaumata as a Magus, he have not had a racially motivated view, but later Greek writers after Herodotus gradually have erroneously thought that the Magus were only Median (Dandamayev, ibid: 209). Thus, the Gaumata's uprising which was introduced as Magusian by Darius and Greek historians, had considered Magus to be Median and it was interpreted as Median. In response, it should be said that the result of this argument is reversed. It was obvious for the ancient historians that Gaumata's uprising was a rebellion against Persian domination as there was fairly a little time interval between the historians and Gaumata's uprising. However, as some researchers pointed out, because Herodotus had taken her information about the Gaumata's uprising from the descendants of the seven aristocrats of the Gaumata murderers, and Darius had sent copies of the inscription of Bisotun to all countries, including Greece, on the one hand, the Median being of the uprising was clear for Herodotus and other Greek historians.

On the other hand, the information derived from Darius' ideological propaganda introduced the insurrection as Median, the premise of the Median being of the Magus was formed in the minds of the ancient writers. Therefore, not as Dandamayev states that the Median being introduction of the uprising by Greek historians was due to the Median being of Magusians, but it was also due to the fact that Gaumata's uprising was Median. "The emphasis on the fact that the Greeks considered the Gaumata to be Mādī or Median only because he was considered to be a Magus was completely baseless" (Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009: 431). In ancient times, people also knew that all Maguses were not Median (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 209)³⁵; thus, Knowing Gaumata as Median by the Greeks has been an indicator of a historical fact (Aliev, *ibid*: 431). Thus, Dandamayev deductions does not necessarily lead to the results that he has derived from them, and the inverse results can be derived from them. As it was pointed and Dandamayev also admitted it, most of the old and new historians had no doubts regarding the Median being of Gaumata's uprising. One of the strongest documents confirming the Median being of the Guamata's uprising was the last will of Cambyses while returning from Egypt in address to the Persian elites. Cambyses swore the Persians that they would never allow superiority and domination to be transferred to the Medes; if they regained control of the monarchy with power, (you, too) regain it with power, if with deceit, retake it with deceit" (Her, III, 65). "Gabries" as one of the Cambyses' companions regrets the fact that the Persians go under the rule of a Median Magus (Her, III, 72) and (Hinz, 1987, in trans by Rajabi, 1386/2007: 202). When Cambyses communicated this will to the Persian at the return of Egypt, the Ferawartish, Chiserma and other nations' uprisings had not begun; these uprisings began after the suppression and killing of Gaumata and Darius sitting in throne after September 29, 522 (Dandamayev, 1989: 191). Cambyses' will be at the time of Gaumata or Bardia the liar's action. It was perfectly obvious for Cambyses and Persia that the Guamata's uprising was a Median uprising against

the Persians whom Cambyses advised to restore the superiority and domination of Medians to the Persians.

As Dandamayev refers, all historical works point out that Gaumata's uprising was intended to revive the Median reign on the Iranians. The aristocracy of the Iranian became aware of this intention and, under the leadership of Darius, killed Cyrus false son, thus consolidating Iran's domination and authority over the Medes (Danmadeyev, *ibid* 171 and 194). According to the inscriptions of Bisotun and the Herodeot's views: Bardia was from the land of the Medes, and tried to restore the rule of the Median, and he relied on a common freeman and Medians (Diakonoff, 1985, in trans by Keshavarz, 1379/ 1998: 387). Herodotus considers the coup of Gaumata as a transfer of power from Persia to Media. (Herodotus, 230: 1387). Plato writes: Cambyses lost his rule to the Medes (Plato, 12, III, XII). He also emphasized that Gaumata, the Median Magus, hated the Persians and humiliated Cambyses (Plato, cited in Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009). "Straut", "Nyberg", "Spiegel", "Herthel", "Herzfeld", "Widngern", "Jackson", "Prasek", and "Oppert" accepted the Median being features of Gaumata's uprising (Dandamayev, *ibid*; 194).

Tyurin writes, "Gaumata created so much destruction in favor of the Median nobles that threatened the Iranian war machine and ... the exemption from military service for three years was to create a division between the Iranian army, that is, the same army which was in Egypt and this would disrupt the Cambyses's military base Iranians opposed Gaumata but did not have the power to act Non-resistance of the army was also due to the fact that it was in Egypt at that time" (Tyurin, in Dandamayev, *ibid*: 198-199). J. Austin believes that the whole inscription of Bistoun has spoken about the Median nations under the Achaemenids ruling to separate them from the Iranians" (Hermes 1938: 33). Gaumata settled in the castle of Sikaya Ovatush in the state of Nessia in Mede before being killed. Gaumata saw his residence in Iran in dager, thus transferring the capital of the country to Med, since Iranians had taken an offensive side

towards him (Dunker, 1867: 553 (Prasek, 1906: 265). The Median origins of the Gaumata politics were revealed, or vice versa this forced him to transfer her residence to Mede (Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009: 432). Gaumata first rose from Persia and then went to Mede, because he could not reveal her Median origin from the beginning (Markwart, cited in Aliev, *ibid*: 432). Bistoun's inscription says that Gaumata was murdered in Mede at a place called Nasaye (Beh, I, 57).

Here, we should have also pointed out to Ferawartish and Chiserma uprising, who were both killed by Darius, but because we are only after proving the Median being of the individuals and groups uprising in this chapter. There is no doubt about the Median being of their uprising; therefore, we will avoid analyzing it here and postpone it to the following chapters.

Mazdak and Mazdakids being Kurd:

Mazdak's uprising -as Althaim and Wiesehofer say- was in the continuation or the reproduction of the Gaumata's uprising and -as Christiensen and Klima say- it was the avanguard of Islamic era movement of Khoramdinan. This movement began in the early years of Qobad ruling in 494 AC and continued until 524. Due to the support of mazdak movement, Qobad was ousted from the monarchy, and after returning to the throne with the help of Hiatla, he left out his support of Mazdakids and finally when Anoshirvan sat on the throne of the monarchy, Mazdakids were masacred.

Mazdak's movements was the greatest revolt of the poor and the farmers of the Near East in the beginning of Medival centuries. This movement continued from around 494-495 up to 524 and according to some up to 528 ... its equalityseeking ideals erupted with the explosion of other popular movements up to centuries later (Ra'isNia, 1358/1979: 823). Despite the importance of this movement that targeted the basis of the class-oriioned Sasanian government, there can be found

no name of Mazdak up to four centuries after him in any sort of writings, but there is Mani's name. Mani's religion was not as dangerous as Mazdak's teachings for the authorities; thus, it was put aside (Klima, 1957, in trans by Fekri Ershad, 1371/1992: 22-21). Christiensen regarded Anoshirwan to be the main agent of destroying Mazdak's writings and traces (Christiensen, 1925: 65). Anoshirvan even ordered not to mention Mazdak's name in history books and it was the case up to seventh century (Nadershahi, www.etemad.ir). Unfortunately, an important uprising such as this without any traces up to four centuries later is solely introduced from the point of view of the ruling state which was disgusting under the name of the enemies of religion and civilization. Contemporary historians have also paid less attention to its ethnic/racial aspect; thus, the proof of its being Kurd is very difficult, but this difficulty is true about the whole of Kurd history. Since we have not owned the pen and we have been rioting against the ruling states, the owners of the pen and the history who were the owners of the state and the authority have always rampaged our being and removed us from the scene of history. Now, by searching countless sources and by exploring meticulously in the footnotes and the random sentences in case of being too much creative, we can prove the being- the foremost right of every human being and nation- of our history.

The orientalists have presented various ideas about Mazdak. In the books "the history of the Mazdakism rite" and "The Communist Revolution of Mazdak", Klima and Brentis, respectively, regarded Mazdak's uprising as a political/social movement. Altheim and Christiensen branded it as a religious movement, the beginning of which was a religious trend that went on to become a social trend (Schipman, 1383/2004: 51). In the book of the history of Iranians and Arabs in sassanian time and written based on Tabari's book, Noldeke, in an article called "the east socialism", has stressed on the religious nature of this movement and

he has described Qobad as a powerful and capable politician interested in Mazdakids religion but his willingness was only to shorten the hand of the elder and master of religion rather than the true belief in that ritual (cited in Yarshater, Kashif, 1362/1983/1: 204). He essentially considers the Oriental Socialism as based on the religion (Klima, 1371/1992: 106). Christensen in a treatise titled "the Kingdom of Peace and Communism" which published in 1925 described the religion of Mazdakids as originally derived from the root of Ma:nawi religion. Inspite of Noldeke's view who ascribed the tendency towards Mazdak as the result of his policy to break the power of the great lords, he described Qobad as a popular king who had tendency towards Mazdakid religion not because of the political and social causes but because of a wish for the prosperity of the poor (Christiensen, 1374/1995: 107). Further, in the book "the history of Mazdak School", Klima assumes Mazdak's movement as a social movement in the guise of religion and hidden under the theoretical cover of supernatural violent revolutionary Mazdak who intended to eradicate the social system injustice" (Klima, 1371/1992: 38). Guillmin also considers Mazdak as a communist reformist in the fifth century AD (Guillmin, cited in Klima, ibid: 16). Most of the orientalists have referred to the social and religious aspects of Mazdak's uprising and less to the ethnic aspect of it. However, a question which arises here is that if Mazdak's revolt had a religious and social aspect, why it merely occurred in the west regions of Iran and it did not spread other parts of Iran which were burning under the yoke of oppression and inequality like the west? Was the ethnic/tribal dimension of it forgotten according to this fact that Anoshirwan -as Christiensen says- had ordered the destruction of all written literature and resources of Mazdakids? We will answer the question in the following, and we will survey on ethnic dimension of the Mazdak uprising apart from its religious and social elements.

There is no doubt that the revolt was more social/economic and it was a socalled communist struggle (not in its Marxist/caste sense), but it must not be

forgotten that the principle reason for the conflict between Median Mazdak and Persian Anoshirwan has been an ethnic conflict. Due to the fact that the dominant ethnic/class Persians had become the dominant and aristocratic class because of the plundering of surplus and the accumulation of the the Medes/Kurds capitals and the rest of the other tribes, the Medes turned into the inferior class and they were in the state of slavery in comparison to the Persians.

Also, as the result of the political strength and the economic plunderings, the Persians changed into the superior ethinc/class group enjoying the monopoly of happiness and revelry and the Medes wer deprived from the pleasures and beauty of the world, the Median/Kurdish uprising of Mazdak had taken on the class or the so-called communist and the pleasure aspect. While the ethnic conflict was going on between Pers/Kurds that in terms of time and for the reasons we have noted, its social/ceremonial aspect was more evident than its ethnic dimension. Inequalities and injustice reigned in all political boundaries of the kingdom of Iran, but why did the pro-equality uprising of Mazdakism spreaded only in western Iran? "Mazdak school developed as an independent movement in the western states of the Sasanids kingdom (Klima, 1371/1992: 109). Mazdak movement -in the word of Nemani- was developed in west of Iran and did not spread to other parts of Iran. Mazdak revolt took place in Sawad and Madaen anddid not spread to other parts of Iran (Khosrawi, 1359/1980: 7). After their defeat, the centre of Mazdakians became the nearby areas of Dinawar and Azerbaijan (the Minor Mede), and after their defeat they went to the Jibal or the mountains (ibid: 46). Ibn-e Balkhi also pointed out that the Mazdak movement found a a great glory in Azerbaijan -the Minor Mede. The Mazdak movement emerged only in the human geography of Kurdistan and was specific to the Kurdish people.

Abu Rihane Bironi, who writes the correct form of the name of Mazdak as Mazhdak (Klima, *ibid*: 99) knows him to be from Nesa in Khorasan, which the scholars have rightly considered it due to mistakenly written spelling instead of Pesa. (Klima, *ibid*: 180). Thus, Bironi's theory is not mentioned in any other source and it has no base. Arab historians have identified Mazdak as from Shiraz. As Christiensen has pointed out, a few centuries before Mazdak, a person called Zoroaster Khargan appeared in Pesa that has greatly influenced Mazdak thoughts based on the Arab historians. In fact, the Arab authors considered Zoroaster Khargan as the main theorist who laid the foundations of Mazdak's religion and as the man of action who has spreaded the new religion among the minor-people "(Christiensen, *ibid*: 107).

Therefore, considering Zarathustra as being the contemporary of Mazdak and believing in two Mazdak is not correct, also considering him to be from the Pesa, is also not true, because Zoroaster was from Pesa, not Mazdak (Christiensen, *ibid*: 107). Because they considered the two men as one and Zarathustra Khargan being from Pesa was obvious, Mazdak was also considered to be from the Pesa. While Zarathushtra Khargan (who Mazdak directly took his religion from a person called "Zoroaster Khargan" (son of a Kharg) or "Zardhasht Bundes" around the year 300 BC) lived a few centuries before Mazdak and they had nothing to do with each other. Consequently, the idea of Mazdak being from Pesa also loses its credibility.

Altheim and Stiehl counted Mazdak to be Kharazmian based on the letter "zh" and according to Bironi's view that he has written Mazdak as Mazhdak. Klima rejects the theory of Altheim and Stiehl depending on the Assyrian inscriptions that one of them was published by Winckler (1907) and the other by Gesenius (1824). Elleris has seen the name of Mazdak in two Assyrian inscriptions written on the margin of a broken charter that the names of the tribal tax-paying chiefs of the eastern border of the Assyrian residing in Zagros has been mentioned (Klima, 1957, in trans by Fekri Ershad, 1371/1992: 110). Klima writes that these

names in the inscriptions of the Assyrian have been written in reference to the inhabitants of Zagros (Klima, *ibid*: 120) He considers the words Mazdaka, Mazdakes, Mazaios, Mazda not Iranian names but Medians (Klima, 1977, in trans by Fekri Ershad, 1373/1994: 199-200). Mazdak names in Assyrian inscriptions refers to the Median princes (*ibid*: 200). Thus, it is difficult to accept Elteham-Eshtil's theory as they have called Mazria as Marghab (Yarshater, 1982: 214). Elteham-Eshtil's views are based more on speculation (*ibid*: 205)

According to the fact that the name of Mazdak has come in the Assyrian inscription, Klima counted Mazdak as Aramian while this name -Mazdak- was used about the inhabitants of Zagros not about the Assyrians themselves in the Assyrian inscriptions. Can it be said that just because the name Diako and other Median leaders in the Assyrian inscriptions they are also Aramian-Assyrian? Thus, the name of Mazdak is used about Zagros inhabitants and is a Zagrosic/Kurdish word. Edwart Meyer" also regarded names the Mazdak in the archives of the Assyrian belonging to the 8th century BC as Median names (Childe, 1970, inTrans by Mohammad Taghi-ye Framerzi. Tehran, 1390/2011: 59-60).

As the other theories are valid, there is consensus on Tabari's writing who has considered Mazdak as from Al-Madara in Ma:dh (Klima 1957: in trans by Fekri Ershad, 1371/1992: 185). Tabri had reliable sources who considered him as from Al-Madara (Christiensen, *ibid*: 107). Madara is the same as Madhraian on the left bank of the Tigris, which is now Kut al-Amara (Christiensen, *ibid*: 108). The east or left coast of the Tigris is where Strabun and Btoleus called their inhabitants as Kurdovan. It is a place where has always been permanent native land and the cradle of Kurds race (Nikitin, 1956, in traans by Qazi, 1373/1994: 100 and Minorsky in the Tabani, 1380/2001: 54), and the history knows no nation more ancient than Kurds in this area. (Speiser in Tabani, 1380/200: 67) 39. Lazarov writes that "during the caliphate (Umavid/Abbasid) Kurdistan and

its borders was unchanged like the era of the Sassanid Empire, and the Kurdistan region included Jezira, the Mesopotamia of the North, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Arabian Iraq and ..." (Lazarov, 1930: 52). Jizira where the Lazarov considers as the settlement of Kurds from the time of Sassanid to theera of Arab caliphs is the same left bank of the Tigris or Kardoen, which was renamed as Jizra (the island) of Ibn Umar and Bhutan at the time of Islam (Khalil, 2011: 33). Thus, most of the people of the eastern Tigris ... were Kurds and Lors and those of the west Euphrates were Aramian and Syrianian throughout the Sassanid period, and constituted (Ibn-e Maskoya (n.d), in trans by Menzavi, 1376/1997: 7). Therefore, although there is no references to Kurdishness of Mazdak in no known independ-ent source, it seems that the comparison of the resources leads us to prove Mazdak as being Kurd. Mazdak movement and social insurrection was formed and continuig in an area where Kurds have always been living.

The book "Feudalism in Iran" writes that the Mazdak movement was formed only in the western and northwestern part of Iran, and there was no effect of the Mazdak movement on other parts of Iran. Ibn-e Balkhi spoke about the escape of Mazdak to Azerbaijan during the coup of the Mobeds and Sassanid nobles that led to the ousting, escaping and imprisoning of Qobad to "Hayatele". He, then, wrote tha, " Mazdak left the capital and went to Azerbaijan (small Mad) and later returned to the capital: "From the evil of this bad way, the world revolted against Ghobad and they reached out from all sides and the elders of Fars gathered, captured and jailed Ghobad. They gave kingdom to his brother Jamaseb and Mazdak fled to Azerbaijan (small Mad), and his proximate (curse be upon them) gathered together. He had a great glory and they did not succeed to do anything about him"(Farsnam-e: 85, cited in Rai'sNia, 1358: 823). Ater the defeat of the Mazdak movement, Azerbaijan (Minor Mede) turned into one of the major shelters of the massacre and the death saved masses of the Mazdak dynasty and as one of the active environments for the continuation of Mazdak ideology of Mazdak (Rai'sNia, ibid: 824). Khosravi also writes in the

book "Mazdak that after their defeat, near Dinor and Azerbaijan (Monor Mede) was the center of the Mazdakians and then after their defeat in Jibal they went to Ray because it was the anti-Anaoshirwan positin (Khosravi, 13591980: 46). Azarbaijans is the geographical area of the small Mede where the scholars recognized its inhabitants as mostly Kurds prior to the Turks' migration during the Seljuk and Mongol period⁴³. In the Sassanid era, Kurdness of Azerbaijan is obvious based on the Marzban Azerbaijani treaty with Hazifa, one of the Omar's commanders, at the time of Omar whom Blazari has also pointed it out: "On behalf of all the people of Azerbaijan, Marzban made peace with Hazifa and he paid him seven hundred thousand dirhams provided that Hazifa would not kill and take anyone captive, and he would not destroy Atashkades (fire temples) and would not trasperse on the Kurds, Lazjans, Sabalan and Sattarodans, and especially he would not prohibit the Shis people from dancing and stomping in the days of Eid and doing other ceremonies" (Beladhuri, 9th century, in tran by Azarnosh, Edited by Farzan. 1364/1985: 84). Beladhuri has pointed out that the Azerbaijani border guard, on behalf of all Azerbaijan (Minor Mede), ... if the Kurds would not be attacked Those Kurds who joined Mazdakids in Azerbaijan (Minor Mede), Jibal and Dinawar during the Sasanian period were, in fact, Mazdakis. There was a union of Iranian feudalism and Arab caliphate and a Turkish sword in the period of Islam and the Abbasid caliphate that flared up Mazdakids' revolt in the struggle with them. Before turning to Khoramdinan and proving their Kurd being, we first need to point out a few words about Minor Mede (Azerbaijan) and how and when it changed into the place of the Turks. Since today, parts of Azerbaijan are Turks, we should avoid imagining that it has always been the Turk-inhabitat when using the name of Azerbaijan and we shoul notice that its historic past is separate from its present uninvited guests.

Islamic era: The General Name of Kurdistan in:

During the caliphate, Kurdistan and its borders were the same as those during the Sassanid Empire, which included Jizira, the northern Mesopotamia, Azerbaijan, Arabian Iraq and Hamadan ... (Lazarov, *ibid*: 52). The name of Kurdistan was first introduced by Sultan Sanjar in the 12th century that the capital of which was Bahar city in Hamedan and it included Azerbaijan, Lorestan, Hamedan, Dinawar, Kermanshah, Sene (Sanandaj), East Zagros and Shahrazor (Lazarov, *ibid*: 49). However, the name of Kurdistan was first used in a Geographical book, that is, in the book of *Nihzat al-Gholob* of Hamdullah Mostofi in 8th century AH, and it included: Armanian provinces, Jizira, Erbil (Howler) and Amed the center of which was Bahar town in northern Hamadan, and he knows the cities of Taq Bostan, Bisotun, Mahidasht, Darband, Taj Khaton, Khafatyan, Bahar, Dinawar, Shahrazor, Kermanshah, Kangavar, Darband-e Zangi and Al-Ashtar city as parts or subordinates of it (Mostofi, cited in Tabari: 26). Therefore, Azerbaijan -Aran was also a part of it- and a part of Kurdistan and the majority of its inhabitants were counted as Kurds up to the 5th century and one or two centuries after Mostofi composed his book. It is clear that the areas that its inhabitants were Iranian, Turks or Arabs would not become famous under the name of Kurdistan -that was an inferiorating title at that time. Lazarov also admitted the name of Kurdistan as referring to the Kurds residents of the regions where was defined as Kurdistan at the time of Mostofi and wrote that “Arab writers termed Kurdistan as where the Kurds are located” (Lazarov, *ibid*: 51). Certainly, as Lazarov also pointed out, Arab writers have defined the lands as Kurdistan where the majority of its inhabitants were Kurds and the language used there was Kurdish. Thus, Azerbaijan/Minor Mede and Aran, which was the cradle of Khoramdinan's rebellion, were the Kurds-inhabited lands. Azerbaijan, as it has always been part of the Mede in the ancient period, has been part of the Jibal land in Islamic era as well. Jibal consists of a vast area of the ancient Median land and it has replaced the name of the western Mede (Reza, 1390/2011: 160). In the period of M'amon, a governor has been in charge

of the Azerbaijan government and Jibal -Mede- (Reza, *ibid*: 161). Isfahani writes: "Mamoun had appointed Abdullah bine Taher to fight with Babak and Azerbaijan and Jabal warriors" (Isfahani, in trans by Sho'ar, 1367/1988: 207). In the big picture, the tribal territory of the Kurds in the Middle Ages and especially during the five first centuries of Islam, extended from Dvîn (south of the lake Sevan) to Mosul, and from Hamadân to the Djezireh. The presence of powerful kurdish dynasties in the zagrosian (Hasanwayhides in Bahâr) and ciszagrosian (Rawâdis in Tabriz and Marwânids in Khilât) areas is due to the existence of king-making tribes. Conversely, these dynasties certainly weighted on the population make-up and the social organisation of these regions (James, 2007). However, Between the 12th and the 14th centuries the field of action the Kurdish tribes seems to reduce according to the arabic sources. Yâqût al-Hamawî (d.1229) or al-'Umarî (d.1349), as being highly populated with Kurds at that period: Irbil, Tell Haftûn, 'Aqr, the Shahrazûr, the region of alDasht, Qaymur, a fortresses in between Mosul and Khilât from which came the famous qaymariyya Amirs of Aleppo and Damascus, Fink, ruled by bashnawiya Kurds since the 10th century, Nusaybin, in the north of the Djezireh, Sinjâr, Hisn Tâlib, ruled by the Jûbiyya Kurds close to Hisn Kayfâ which is said to be part of the Bilâd al-Akrâd during the 13th century. Mosul is still a place of settlement and recruitment of the Kurds. But Suhraward which constituted the northern boundaries of al-'Irâq with the Shahrazûr, was no longer considered to be populated with Kurds during the 13th century. At that time nothing is said about the Kurds in upper Azerbaijan or Armenia. Tabrîz for example stopped to be a region populated with Kurds. And meanwhile, in 1152, the saljuqid sultan Sandjar was creating an administrative region called Kordestan on the zagrosian area formerly ruled by the Hasanwayhids, the zankid and ayyubid historians mainly described the ciszagrosian part of the tribal territory as being populated with Kurds. (*Ibid*). The restriction of Kurdistan, on the one hand, was due to the migration and settlement of the Turks in the region, and on the other hand, the

killing and Arabization of Kurdish areas due to the frequent Kurdish revolts against the Islamic Caliphate.

The Kurds, similar to the Sassanids and Achaemenids periods, have also embarked on numerous insurrections during the Islamic era and they have never given way to the "symbolic order" of the Arabs/Islam, Turks, and Iran domination as "the real issue". The Kurds cooperated with all the insurrections that were the enemy of the central Caliphate power, and the Caliphate power was superficial in the Kurdish regions (Lazarov, ibid: 68).

Ibn-e Hoqol regarded Chewarzawar and the inhabitants of Shahrazor as Kurd. Yaqout-e Hamavi describes the residents of Shahrazor as the insurgents and rioters. Arabs applied a lot of violence in Shahrazor. The inhabitants of Shahrazor were not subordinate to the Caliph, and the Caliph never managed to dominate them. Y'aqobi named the two most important Kurds-inhabited cities of the time of Omar as Qurmasin and Helvan. Helvan and Sena -Sisehr- were not submissive to Caliph like Shahrazor, and were always insurgents. Kurdish cities like Dinawar and Helwan, and "Sohraward" and "Shahrazor" were later destroyed due to their numerous rebellions against the Caliphate. Mosul, which according to Ibn-e Hoqol, most of its inhabitants were Kurds, was one of the centers of the Kurdish rebellion against the Caliphate system. The Mosul rebellion led by Ja'far ibn-e Fahrjis in 902, the Shahrazor rebellion led by Abi Rabi-e Kurdi, the next Mosul rebellion led by Mohammad Bilal-e Kurdi, revolt of Esfahan led by Abdullah, the son of Ebrahim-e Kurdi and ... all insurrections from Jizira and Mosul to Isfahan and Hamedan and Shaharzor against the Caliphate -whether the Umayyads or Abbasids- were in the hands of the Kurds. The Khawarij rebellion was in 886 in Mosul and Helwan. The Kurds also participated in the Khawrijites uprising in 700-701. Ibn-e Asir considered Kurd's Yaqobi tribe as the alliance of Khawrijites riots. The Kurds also contributed to the rebellion of "Zingiya kan" in Khozestan in 869 BC. The Khozestani Kurds under the leadership of Mohammad, son of Hazar-e Kurdi participated in this rebellion. In

10th century, the Kurdish ruler in the Syrian area called Ja'far, the son of Hamidi-e Kurdi cooperated with the rebellion of Qaramete in Iraq and Syria. The Kurds never bended their knees for any power, and they always defended their race though they never became the owners of their own government, but they did not obey anyone, too (Lazarov, ibid: 53 to 77).

Abu Muslim and Khoramdinan:

Kurd being of Abu Muslim:

Abu Muslim was born in "Mah of Basra" (Haghigat (Rafi'e), 1381/2002:135). Some also consider him as from Esfahan (Isfahani, cited in Seddiqi, 1372/1993: 62). As we wrote earlier, Mah of Basra was part of the old Mede that was later named as Kurdistan. It was most likely that Abu Muslim was from the Kurds of Isfahan. Abu Delame, the poet in the court of Caliph and the contemporary of Abu Muslim, considered him as Abu Mujram (son of evil) and his fathers as Kurd (Yusefi, 1987/2008: 30). ⁷⁶ Moghaddasi, Ibn Khalkan and the author of Sistan's history also have called him as Abu Muslim-e "Kurd" (Seddiqi, ibid: 62).

Although, the Kurds lived in Khorasan ⁷⁷ before the Safavid period, the following issues all indicate the existence of Kurds in Khorasan: Kurd being of Abu Muslim Khorasani, memoirs of Da'bal-e Khazaee on his way to Merv and his encounter with the Alawite Kurds, the memoirs of Taimur in the book of "I am Timur-e Jahanghosha (the world conqueror), who on the path to Quchan, ran into group who said we are Kurds, and at the time of Tamerlane, Clavijo's (the Spanish Embassay to TamerLane) reference to the existence of Kurds in Khorasan (Ranjbar, 1381/2002: 8). Eventhough, we have no claim and document about Kurd being of Abu Muslims' followers, it is not unlikely that the masses

of the people in that region were still Kurd at that time, especially due to this fact that the other riots have occurred against Iranism in the same areas.

What is obvious is that the pretext for the blood of Abu Musalm was a spark that aroused the fire of dissatisfaction with the Arabic Caliphate, the peasants and the aristocrats who supported the Umayyids (Amoretti, cited in Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 425) Abu Muslem was the greatest enemy of the peasants (Amoretti, *ibid*). Iranians fought Abu Muslem in favor of the Umayyid (Yusufi, 163: 1378). Abu Muslem's agreement with the murder of Abu Salmah Khalal (a proponent of Ali's followers) and his intense struggle with the Shiites of Bukhara denies his struggle for the sake of Shi'aism (Yousefi, *ibid*: 164). He also killed "Beh Afrin" who had the Zoroastrian religion and had presented a book in Farsi (Yusufi, *ibid*: 158), so he did not arise in favour of Iranism. The main carriers of Iranian culture and traditions were peasants during the Sassanid era. Most of the poets, including the great Ferdowsi and Samanids were from the peasants of Khorasan. Indeed, everything that is interpreted as the Iranian culture in the Islamic period was related to the peasants. However, Abu Muslem was the greatest enemy of the peasants. Mazdakids left their secret life with the advent of Abu Muslem during the extinction of the Umayyads for the first time, (Klima, 1957, in trans by Fekri Ershad, 1371/1992: 59). "When the news of the murder of Abu Muslims came to Khorasan and the Jibal areas, the Khoramdinans ... they -Muslemia- proclaimed that they followed Imamate of Abu Muslim. They disagreed after his death ... Some said that Abu Muslem had not died, and he would not die, and he will reemerge and make the earth full of justice ... and the other section considered his death as a reality and they believed in the Imamate of his daughter Fatemah; hence, they were called Fatemia. Now in the year of 332, most of Khoramdinans are from the Kurdkia and Ludshahdia sections, which are more reliable than all Khoramis, Babak Khorramdin, who revolted against Ma'mon and Muetasam from Eran and Azerbaijan, was one of them. Most khorramian are in Khorasan, Rey, Isfahan, Azerbaijan, Karaj, Borj,

Siravan, Seimereh, Erivjan, and Masbazan, and ... and they are settled more in farms and villages ..." (Masoudi, in trans by Payande, 1370/1991: 297). Many of the subsequent movements happened in vengeance of Abu Muslem's bloodshed. "Sanbād" whose moto was the destruction of the Ka'bah gathered a large number of the farmers of Jibal (Motehede, cited in Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 59). Spuler also writes that the followers of Sanbad were the inhabitants of the mounstains. The ares between Tabarestan and Jibal, where was the area of activity of "BehAfrid" in the past, turned into the activity zone of Sanbad (Spuller, cited in Frye, ibid: 428). Therefore, we can truely risk presenting this hypothesis that the masses of people still were Mede/Kurd at that time since the Iranians were the superior ethnic group/class during their arrival from the steppes of southern Russia, but the masses of the old people of Mede were still present there. Although, other movements such as that of Sanbad began in eastern Iran, most of its followers were peasents of Jibal-e Ma:d or the mountains of Mede (Kurdistan) and were in connection with Jibal region.

Kurd being of Babak and Khoramdinan:

The most important Kurdish rebellion, against the Arabic/Islamic Caliphate and Iranian feudalism, was the Khoramdinan rebellion. Khoramdinan rebellion may have been the last Kurdish/Mithraism riot against the metaphysical doctrine and the Iranian imposed class-structure which had not yet given way to the logic of Iranian thought. After the revolt of Khoramdinan, mysticism prevailed in Kurdistan, where the transition from Khoramdini action, from the tragedy of action to silence and surrender and then to mysticism has not yet been investigated. Many historians, and even the Khoramdinans themselves, paid tribute to the Mazdakids as well as to Abu Muslem, before them, a brief mention of Abu Musalm would be neccessary. It should be recalled that we are just trying to prove the Khoramdinan and Abu Muslim being Kurd in this chapter, and we

will postpone any philosophical analysis to the following chapters. If, in the previous materials, we prolonged our discussion about the Minor Mede (Azerbaijan) in spite of my heartfelt desire, it was only to prove that the areas under the influence of Khoramdinan at that time were Kurds-inhabited areas. The revolt of Khoramdinan has a significant importance from the viewpoint of Kurdish history and the conceptualization of Kurdish political thought which, unfortunately, Kurdish historians have not understood its importance yet. Tabri says that Babak was from the clan of Mazdak (Tabari, cited in Nafisi, *ibid*: 8). Apparently, Babak was busy in Nahvand, then he went to Tabriz, and at the age of 18, he went to his mother in "Baz" (Haghīghat (Rafie), *ibid*: 281). "Ibn-e al-Nadim, (n.d.) in *Al-Fihrest* says: "His father was a man from the people of Madain and he was an oil seller, he went to the borders of Azerbaijan and settled in a place called Bilal Abad in the village of Maimad ... he fell in love with a woman who was Babak's mother ... Babak served Shabil bin Manghi Azdi in a place on the top of a mountain and he was the shepherd of his cattle. He learned trampling from the servants, then he went to Tabriz in Azerbaijan and he was with Mohammad Ibn-e Rawadi for two years, then he returned to his mother and stayed with her" (Ibn-e al Nadim (n.d), in trans by Tajadod, 1368/1989: 614). Abu Hanifa Dinavari writes in *Akhbar al Tawal*: people disagreed about Babak's descent and religion, and what came to me to be true and was proved to me is that he was one of the sons of Mozafar Ibn-e Fatima, the daughter of Abu Muslim, and the clan of Fatemiye are connected to him from the *Khoramīyah*" (Dinavari, in Nafisi, *ibid*: 12). Sam'ani has written the father of Babak as Mardas (Sam'ani in Zarinkob, *ibid*: 216). Mardas has derived from two parts, "mard= man" and "as= eater", meaning man-eater, and the father of Zahak was also called Mardas. (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 216). Of course, this title was molded on him from behalf of the others.

What can be inferred from the narrations was that Babak was born in a geographical/historical situation, which was part of the land of Mede and Jibal, where was later called Kurdistan. If Tabari's narration is true, we have stated Kurd being of Mazdak and if Dinawari's statement is well-versed, Abu Muslim's Kurd being may be right. Babak was initially living in Nahavand (the Mah of Al-Basa) in the land of Mede, then he went to the Minor Mede. Perhaps, Kurd being of Babak cannot be proven, but he cannot be considered as Turk, Arab or Iranian in any way. Turks and Arabs did not exist in masses in Azerbaijan and Aras at that time. There had been no mention of Turk or Arab being of either Babak himself nor his followers in any narratives. Babak's not being Iranian is also evident because he did not know Persian (Ibn-e al-Nadim, *ibid*: 613, Spuler, 1952: 344). Most important of all was that Babak's movement was as much anti-Arabic/Islamic as it was anti-Iranian/Zoroastrian. Iranians did not hesitate to cooperate with Arabic Caliphs to suppress him (Zarinkob, 1384/2005: 221). This movement was suppressed by Iranian Afshin and his army, Turkic slaves, and the legitimacy on the part of the Caliph. Babak's language had been something between Kurdish and Taleshi. More importantly, Babak became acquainted with Tabriz and Baz, where it later became the patron of his revolutionary force via one of the boys of Mohammed Ibn-e Rawad -a Kurd. (Ibn-e al Nadim, *ibid*: 406. Zarinkob, *ibid*: 234). Babak, was acquainted with the Kurds of Rawadi and Baz, that is to say, he was not from Baz in origion, but he was from Nahavand, and the Jibal (the mountains) of Mede and has had a common plan and race with the Kurds of Rawadi. As we have pointed out in the section on Mazdak uprising, my work is not creating heroism, the heros are the masses of people. The Khoramdinan uprising had also existed before Babak. Thus, Babak's race and language are not so much important; what is important are his followers.

Human Geography of Babak and Khoramdinan

Ibn-e Nadim writes in the book of Al-Fehrest that: "The Khorramīyah is categorized into two parts... one group that is called Mohamra in Azerbaijan, Dinawar, Hamedan and Isfahan ... the other is a tribe called Atfal o al Laqta (the found children) whose founder is Mazdak" (Ibn-e al-Nadim, ibid: 611). Masoudi writes in Marwajo al-Zahab: "Most of the Khorramians are from the Kurdkia" and "Ludshahia" sections, which they are more reliable than all other Khorramians. Babak-e Khoramdin, who uprose against Mamoun and Mo'tashim in Eran and Azerbaijan , was one of them. Most of Khorramian were in Khorasan, Ray, Isfahan, Azerbaijan, Karaj, Borj, Siravan, and Simeereh, Erioujan, and Masbazan, and ... most are settled in farms and villages "(Maso'udi, ibid: 297) According to Ibrn-Asir "A large crowd of people from Jabal, Hamedan, Isfahan, Masbandan, etc., accepted the religion of Khorramia, and they gathered and built Lashkar Gah in Hamedan, and Mo'etasam sent an army on them, and Ishaq Ibn-e Ibrahim Masa'b was with that army, and he (Mo'etasam) appointed him to the mission in Jibal in the month of Shawwal. And Isaac faced these people around Hamadan and killed sixty thousand of them" (Ibn Asir, the events of the years 210...). Zarinkob sees Babak's uprising in al-Badz in the mountainous regions of Aran and near Aras in 201 AH (Zarinkob, ibid; 69). In continuing the same book, he considered the areas between Aras and Aran in the period of the Abbasids as Kurd." In the early Islamic centuries, the role of Kurds in a particular sense, not in the general sense, ... their dwellings have covered from Zagros to Azarbaijan, Arran and Darband (Zarinkob, ibid: 333). Gholam-Hossein Seddiqi offers a more complete list of positions of Khoramdinan: "Masbazan, Mehragankade (in Iraq-e Ajam near Saimare, Helwan road to Hamadan), the areas of Isfahan and Borj, Varsanjan,

Qesm, Kohdasht, a section of Saimara in Mehragankade, land of Sirvan, Arojān as part of Masbazar and Hamadan, and the Mah of Kufa, The Mah of Basra, the village of Qamdan where the Kurds were living in it, the village of Fahman whose inhabitants were Kurds, Azerbaijan and Armenia, Ray and Khorasan, that most of them settled in villages ..." (Seddiqi, *ibid*: 258).

Azerbaijan and Aras that were the same Minor Mede land and they were later called as parts of Kurdistan. Markwart also has included Sirvan, Saimara, and Masbazar and ... as parts of the land of Medes (Markwart, 1901, in trans by MirAhmadi, 1373/1994: 44s). Tabari has introduced a large part of Jabal's inhabitants as Khoramdinan (Fakhouri (1376), in trans by Ayati, 1381/2002: 163). Khwaja Nizam al-Molk has also described the provinces of Jibal and Iraqe Ajam where they were called Old Mede (Frye, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 22) as the main centers of Khoramdinan. Many of the places that are introduced as the inhabitants of Khoramdinan have not initially been Khoraramdni. Religious movements have been opposed to the scholastic ruling system that they have been labeled as Khoramdinan to justify their suppression and removal of them". Nizam al Molk considered most of the Shiites and Batenians as Khorramdinian (Nizam al Molk, cited in Nafisi, *ibid*:s 20) who were not in fact Khoramdinians.

Therefore, the movements of Khorasan, Tabarestan, Fars, etc. can hardly be attributed to Khoramdinian. Khoramdainian were in the human geography of Kurdistan and not in other places. Many other riots outside Kurdistan were only political, not ideological oppositions like the Kurdish Khoramdinian. For example, "there are no clear reasons why Mazyar turned against the Caliph. Mazyar was the absolute follower of the Caliph in the beginning, and his opposition was the result of being sacrificed between the two political men (Tahir and Afshin), not because of any particular ideology" (Madelung, cited in Frye, *ibid*: 178). Further, one of the reason for the failure of Mazyar was that Zoroastrians of Tabarestan have not accepted Mazdakian/Khoramdinian

tendencies, and the religion of the Khoramdinian was rejected by them like Muslims (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 242). It is also possible to attribute this writing of Madelung about Mazyar's uprising to many revolting movements, in many places, uprisings of Kharijites, Shiites and ... have been introduced as Khorramdinian, while they have nothing to do with the Khoramdinian and their ideology. The reason behind their geographical dispersion is the same thing. While Khoramdinans were in origion restricted to Azerbaijan and Jibal, we have no other documents on allegations -sexual freedom and worldly pleasures- attributed to Babak's Khoramdinians, to other insurrections in Khorasan and Ahvaz and ... well-known as Khoramdinian. As Madelung said about Mazyar, many of these movements were either purely political or interreligious and had nothing to do with the Mazdakid/Khoramdinian ideology; hence, the ruling Caliphate system molded on them the charge of being Khoramdinian -which was a very ugly term for Muslims and they hated it- to justify the suppression of those religious/political movements. Like today that they consider any movement in the Middle East as agents of al-Qaeda and

Therefore, the main center of Khoramdinian has been the same northwest areas, Hamedan, Isfhafan, Masbazar, Mehregan, Jibal, and Azerbaijan, which was later called Kurdistan. "The Babak movement remained restricted to the mountainous inhabitants ... and it has not penetrated among the Arabs, Turks and Barbers whom, according to Jahiz, were the backbones of Islam and its army" (Fakhori, *ibid*: 169). It does not mean that all its inhabitants of somewhere like Isfahan, which was introduced as one of the main centers of Khoramdinians, were Khoramdinian, but parts of it such as Qamdan where "Kurds" settled (Seddiqi, *ibid*: 258) were Khoramdinian. Fatho al Boldan-e Baladhor and Al-Boladan Yaghobi pointed out that the inhabitants of Isfahan were mixed together and their Arabs were few ..." one of the villages of Isfahan is Qamdan where Kurds are settled there, and Khoramdinians have emerged from this place, and the other is the village of Fahman, where the Khoramdinian

Kurds are residing" (Bladhori and Y'aqubi quoted in the book of the background of people culture ...). Y'aqobi also points out that "Kurds lived in the region of Isfahan who had a downgraded social life; thus, Khoramians revolted in Isfahan"(Y'aqobi, cited in Frye, ibid: 435).

Race and nationality of Khoramdinan

Mas'oudi considers two important sects of Khoramdinians as Kudakia and Kurdshahia (Mas'oudi vol2, ibid: 297). Kudakia has been likely to refer to the followers of the son of Fatima, the daughter of Abu Muslem who, according to Nizam al Molk, were called Kodak-e Dana (the wise child) (Nizam al Molk, ibid: 204. Spuler, ibid: 370). The name of the other group is viewd as Kudshahia and Ludshahih, the correct form of which is Kurdshahia. As al-Tanbia and alAshraf also writes: the lands of Jibal (mountains) of Kurds were vast and numerous and, according to Y'aqoubi, some of its people were Khoramdinian" (Seddiqi, ibid: 259). Probably this means the Shah (king) of Kurds. The other is known as Mohamereh (Tabari vol3, ibid: 38) whose Khoramdinians were called under this name in Azerbaijan, Nahavand, Dinavar and ... (Baghdadi, cited in Seddiqi, ibid: 265). Other cult of them were known as Khosravia which there is not accurate knowledge about it; only we know that one of the Kurdish tribes in Fars was called Khosravia" (Seddiqi, ibid: 265). Apparently, the Kurds played a major role in all movements of Khoramdinians. Abu Ja'far Ahmad bin alHossein

Ahwazi converted a group of Kurds of Jibal and Koh-e-Ba:z, who were Khoramdinians, to his own religion (Qarmati) (Massion, cited in Seddiqi, *idib*: 321). Based on Nizam al Molk, "Khoramdinian rebelled in Esfahan at the time of the Caliphate of Wasiq (223-227) and afterwards. After committing a great deal of evil and corrupted actions, they were finally caught up ... and they captured and killed them, and heads were moved around in Isfahan; thus, the whole of Islam cheered up and they wrote congratulation letters to each other" (Nizam al Molk, cited in Seddiqi: 322). Siddiqi further noted out the changes that Tabarī pointed to during the Caliphate of Wasiq: "this year, Wasif-e Turk came to Iraq from the area of Esfahan and Jibal and Fars, and he went to repel Kurds that had taken these areas and chained five hundred Kurds including their children, and they brought them to Iraq and imprisoned them" (Tabari vol3, c beyonded in Seddiqi, *ibid*: 322). It is highly probable that this was the same Kurds' insurgency that Nizam al-Molk referred to it and these Kurds were Khoramdinians (Seddiqi, *ibid*: 322-323). Therefore, it is evident based on the sources that not only the land of the Khoramdinian uprising were the settlement of Kurds, but the majority of Khoramdinians and their uprisings have been made up by the Kurds.

Many historians believe Khoramdinians are the continuation of Mazdakians movement and many know it as the continuation of Abu Muslim, that in either case we proved the existence of the Kurd being of Mazdakids as well as Abu Muslim. Babak's movement in Azerbaijan and Jibal preserved the continuation of the resistance of the Mazdak followers during the Sassanids era in these areas. It reconciled Babak, Abu Moslem and Mazdak with each other. "Khoramdinians were the remnants of Mazdakids who secretly preached Mazdak's teachings from the very beginning of the fall of the Sasanians in Azerbaijan" (Zarinkob, 138/2005: 68). Some historians correctly, based on the contract referred to in the book of Bladhorī between the Azerbaijan border guard and the Caliph of Omar, considered the main body of the Azerbaijan Army as Kurds during Arabs assault

that converted to the Khoramdinian religion. Markwart emphasizes that Kurds were largely inhabited in Sabalan, and since they were ilatis (tribal) and nomads, they had rioting spirits. Because of this, the communist fantasies of Babak were well received among the Kurds; thus, these people were neither pure Zoroastrian nor Muslims (Markwart, cited in Ra'sisNia, 1358/1979: 126). Therefore, Khoramdinian revolt was formed based on the foundations of the Mazdakism and in connection with the Kurds.

Babak, the leader of the Khorramdinian uprising in the year-837-816 ..., had an agreement with the tribe of Y'aqobi-ye Kurd to help and cooperate with him ... Ismat-e Kurdi, the ruler of the city of Marand was one of the co-workers (the chief commander or the deputy, Qaderi) of the Khoramdinians and he sacrificed his life for the sake of Khoramdinians rebellion (Lazarov, 1930, in Kurdish Trans by Sangavi, 2010: 67). Apparently, Rawadian-e Kurd also collaborated with Khordaminians and, as the result, they suffered a lot during the victory of

Al-Saj, Ba:z's castle was destroyed and Tabriz went out from under the supervision of Rawa'dians" (Zarinkob, 1384/2005: 316). Thus, during Babak-e Khoramdin's uprising, Tabriz and Baz were in the hands of Rawa'dians. One of the signs of Rawa'dian-e Kurd's cooperation with Babak was that they also lost their power after the suppression of the Babak movement and destruction of Baz and there is no name of them until the next one or two centuries. Most of the members of Khoramdinian of Babak were Kurds of Rawa'dians. In fact, Babak succeeded to rise with the help of Rawa'dian-e Kurd, Ismat-e Kurdi, the ruler of Marand, and the Kurdish tribe of Y'aqobi.

Mosa Khorni, the Armenian historian who is famous as Herodotus of Armenia, relates the founding of Armenia to Tigrana, the king of Armenia, and writes that Tigrana, allied with Cyrus, ousted Ajidahak, king of Maran (the Medes) and freed Armenia. But the most important point among Khorni's statement is his indirect reference to the Kurd being of Khoramdinians, the

villages of Khoram ... and most importantly, he considered Kurds to be of the Ajidahak generation. Mosa Khorni lived in the 9th century, i.e 3 AH. Khorni writes that Tigrana, the king of Armenia, moved the Armenian Mars -Armenians called the Medes as Mars – to three small town of Kheram- Khoram, Jokho and Khoshaknik ... from Ajdanakan to Nakhjawan fortress. He considered the inhabitants of Kham and Nakhjawan and ... as the sons of Ajidahak and Mars the Medes- Who lived freely in Masis -Ararat- and Armenia. Minorsky correctly thinks that Khorni, by them, meant Kurds: "there is no doubt that Khorni, by Mars, meant the Kurds" (Minorsky, 1958, in trans by Khadem, 1387/2008: 180). Khorni described the inhabitants of Khoram, the main place of Khoramdinians, as Kurds.

As we wrote out, many historians consider Khoramdinian movement to be the continuation of the Mazdakians movement. Mazdakians lived secretly after their killings by Anoshirvan, and after the disappearance of the Sassanids, they reappeared in the form of Khoramdinians in the era of Islam. "Babak's movement in Azerbaijan and Jibal ... had maintained the persistence of the struggle of Mazdak's followers in the Sassanids era in these areas. Althaim and Wiesehofer correctly gave a social aspect to the Gaumatq uprising and they considered him as a predecessor to Mazdakians. Aliev and Diakonoff correctly recognized the entry of class culture as the cause of the decay of the Median Empire and Astiag. Wiesehofer also expanded the same conditions that caused Astiag to fall to the case of Gaumata's downfall. In all these movements, the common ideas can be extracted. All writers believe that Gaumata revealed the Median being and anti-Persian nature of his uprising after eight months that he became sure from the stable foundations of his power. Therefore, if Mazdakians had the opportunity, they would reveal the Kurdish/Median being aspect of their uprising. Of course, we have no information, Anoshirvan may have eliminated all the writings of Mazdak, maybe they revealed them but we are not aware of them. Therfore, the history of the Kurds from Zahak (Astiag) to Gaumata and Mazdakians to

Khoramdinians and ... would form a complete history for writing down the history of political and social thought of Kurds.

Babak's not being Iranian is also evident because he did not know Persian (Ibne al-Nadim, ibid: 613, Spuler, 1952a: 344). Babak's language had been something between Kurdish and Taleshi. Most important of all was that Babak's movement was as much anti-Arabic/Islamic as it was anti-Iranian/Zoroastrian. Iranians did not hesitate to cooperate with Arabic Caliphs to suppress him (Zarinkob, 1384/2005: 221). This movement was suppressed by Iranian Afshin and his army, Turkic slaves, and the legitimacy on the part of the Caliph. It was through the unity of the intellect of Iran, Arab and Turks that the Khoramdinan uprising was suppressed by cooperation of the Iranian Afshin and Taherian family. The unity would be established between Arabian and Iranian political reason and later Turkish political reason under the title of the political wisdom of Islam whose power would be warranted with the sword of the Turks, they get its legitimacy from the Caliphs and Arabic religion, and they provide its knowledge from the Iranians with the pens of those like Ghazali and Nizamo al Molk. The reproduction of the unity of the intellect of Iran, Arab and Turk is quite evident against "the other", i.e. the Kurd in the contemporary period.

Conclusion:

In this article, we will bring the history of the Kurds with Khoramdinians to an end; not rather that the history of the Kurds will end in Khoramdinians, but because we have just proved the Kurdishness of these movements. Since there were doubts about the existence of these movements, we focused on them. There is no doubt about the Kurd being of contemporary movements. Of course, there has also been attempts to conceal the truth of Kurd in contemporary times. The fact that the Kurds are called the mountainous Turks ... and that they are termed

like the Mazdakids and Khoramdinians as infidel and ... all are definitely trying to conceal the truth of their being Kurd. However, there has been a difference between now and earlier in such a way that history cannot be monopolized by the kings like Ataturk, Saddam and Reza Khan in the contemporary world so that nobody can be able to become aware of the Kurd beings of these movements. There was no longer the possibility of concealing these movements due to the expansion of Kurdish historical consciousness and the expansion of the world of communications and information and the arrival of European citizens in the region. It also must be mentioned that the Kurdish contemporary movements such as Mazdak and Babak do not call themselves Kurds but Communism, Marxism-Leninism, Iranian, and the latest case is PKK who call themselves not as a Kurdish Party but the Human movement. However, as I said, today because of international communication everybody knows that are Kurds. Moreover, the dominant government who suppressed the Kurdish movement also do not mentioned that we suppress the Kurds the call suppressed people like

Kafir, separations and It also must be explained that why the Kurdish movements from Mazdakism to Modern parties like Komala and PKK are communism or secular rebellion because the single ethnic state-empire suppressed them with religious justifications. Furthermore, in the Middle East dominance ethnics due to take over of government, also monopolize the capital and economy. Therefore, the ruling ethnic also has become the upper class while the ethnics which are under domination have become the lower class. governmentless ethnics such as Kurd has become the inferior class as well as non- civilized group because of the lack of facilities that are monopolized by the ruling ethnics. For this reason, empire-stateless ethnics like a Kurds express themselves in form of communism like Mazdak and in the era of modern they choose Marxism ideology. This also develop the gaps and widens the ethnic distinction into class and religious conflicts. the tendency towards Marxism among the Kurdish parties as opposed to the Mono-ethnic-class domination and

religion of the ruling ethnicities. As a result, antagonism between the single ruling ethnics with stateless ethnics is the base of others economic, religious and political conflicts.

Kurdish Minor Mede or Turkish Azerbaijan?

Abstract

Kurdistan, Mad, Jibal, Zagros Beladel Al-Akrad and Mahin are referred to the Land of the Kurdish people. The territory of the Kurds extended from Dvîn (south of the lake Sevan) to Mosul, and from Hamadân to the Djezireh, however, it has become smaller and more limited than before due to the lack of Kurdish empire on the one hand and, and the invasion of the Arab, Persian and Turkish tribes on the other. One of the regions that have historically been mentioned as part of the land of Kurdistan and its inhabitants were Kurds, was Azerbaijan or Little Media. until the 11th and 12th centuries, when the Turks (Mongols, Seljuks, Turkmens and ...) invaded the region and changed its demographics and language. the root of the name of Azerbaijan, not because of the presence of

specific people, but due to the name of a person called Atropath or "Aturpatkan". the old Azerbaijani term had no ethnic/racial connotation. After the assault of the Turks, Seljuks and the Mongols, its humanitarian map and identity changed to Azeri and Turkic gradually and with the force of the sword. The purpose of this article is to genealogy the word of Azerbaijan ant to prove that it belongs to the Kurd and Kurds were the inhabits of this land, before the immigration/invasion of the Turks.

Introduction

Seljukid Sultan Sanjar used the general name of Kurdistan concerning the areas inhabited by Kurds for the first time in the 5th century AH. Before that, we cannot find any sources stating the general name of Kurd including the historical geography of the Kurds. Did the lack of a general word of Kurd mean the real lack of the Kurds? The lack of a common term for Kurdistan in the century before 5/11 did not mean the non-existence of Kurds nor Kurdistan, but rather it means the lack of relation between the name and being of the Kurds in the rule of the truth.

Before naming the land of Kurds as Kurdistan during the reign of Sultan Sanjar Seljuk, it was called Mad in ancient times, and before that, as Guti, Manai and Huri . . . With the conquest of the Mede by Pars, the word Kurd/Kurt meaning the slave substituted it. At the time of the Sasanians, they were called Mei and then Mah (Elima, 1379/2000: 27). Along with the conquests of Islam, the land of Mad was called Mahin or Jabal. The parts of the Med that were occupied by the Kufa people were called" Mah al-Mokaf", and the parts that

were captured by Basra people became known as the "Mah al Basra" (Beladhuri, 9th century, in trans by Azarnosh, 1364/1985: 67). "Nahavand was the administrative centre of "Mah al-Busra" and Dinawar was that of "Mah Al kofa" which was called Mahan (Markwart, 1901: 48). Half of Mede or Mah was at the hands of Kofians and the other half was at the hands of Basrians, and the Caliph ordered to call the Old Median as Mahin or Jibal, the upper part of which was the Mah al-Kofa and the lower part of that Mah al-Busra (Frye, 1974: 23). Mahan is from Helwan to Hamadan (Marquard, same, 45). Arab historians have always considered Esfahan as a part of Mede and Jibal (Markwart, ibid: 45). Thus, the land that later became known as Kurdistan in the Seljuk period was formerly known as "Jibal", "Mahin", "Mah al-Busra" and "Mah al-Kofa". Iraq-e Ajam was also a part of Madad state (Frye, ibid: 22). The "Kurdistan" is the same that Arabs called it "Jibal" (Frye, ibid: 72). Arabs included Isfahan, Hamedan, Azarbaijan, Aran and ... in Jibal where its inhabitants were mostly Kurds (Barthold, cited in Frye, ibid: 72). In the time of Seljuk, the common name of Kurdistan was referred to the areas where the Kurds lived, which we will come to it later.

Until the 11th and 12th centuries, when the Turks (Mongols, Saljuks, Turkmens and ...) invaded the region, the main inhabitants of Azerbaijan/Minor Mede and the main proprietors of its history are Mazdaka and Khuramdinans and the old Azerbaijani term had no ethnic/racial connotation. After the assault of the Seljuks and the Mongols, its humanitarian map and identity changed to Turkic gradually and with the force of the sword. Of course, it is now Turks' soil and land up to the places they have settled. The main argument is that the history before their inhabitants (Turks and Azeries) belongs to their main inhabitants, the Kurds including the history of Khoramdinans and the Kurdish dynasties, such as Rawadi and Shadadi and It is worth thinking that the word

Azerbaijani preceded Turkic people in the region, but the term Kurdistan is more recent than Kurdish people.

We have already mentioned that renaming a region does not mean the change of the inhabitants and the language of the peoples of that area. The geographic area, nowadays known as Azerbaijan, was called Roman and Greek by the Greek and Roman historians. Only from Alexander's time onwards, it was named Atropath, Atropatan, or Atropathan Mede as the result of the name of its governor. It was called Azarapatcan in Sasanian era, and then Azerbaijan (Pirnia, 1362/1983: 24 and 26). All ancient historians including Istrabo, Eryan, Yusuf Flavius and ... considered Azerbaycan as part of the land of Mad and called it Mad Atropatan (Reza, 1390/2011: 155). Bartold also considers Azerbaijan as an integral part of the land of Mada (ibid). We will first clarify the word "Azerbaijan" and its historical root and this fact that this term had no racial, ethnic or linguistic connotation at all, and also it was derived entirely from the name of its governor. Up to the 5th century when the Turks emerged, the inhabitants of that place were the ancient natives of Mede and Guti whom we provided documents to prove them to be Kurds. Then, we will determine the geographical area and the race of its inhabitants and we will criticize Pan-Turkism views that are trying to give racial/ethnic denotation to the concept of Azerbaijan and trace back the history of Turks and Azeries to a pre-history period in the region.

The genealogy of the word Azerbaijan:

There are many opinions about the etymology of the word "Azerbaijan" and the reasons for giving such a name to this land. Some historians associate the emergence of this name with fire and fire temple in this land. For instance, Tabarī writes: "There were Ajm's fire temples there, and they called the fire as Azar. In Pahlawi language, they termed it as Azerbaigan where in fact Ajam had their fire

there and worshiped it" (Tabari History, Vol1: 529). Yaghot Hamavi also writes in al-Baladon: "Azar, in in Pahlavi is the fire and the baigan, means the guard, it was so-called, i.e. the guardian of the fire because there were too many fire temples there (Mo'jam al-Boldan: 159). E'temado al-Saltana also emphasized the viewpoint of Yaghot Hamavi (Ra'isNia, 1360/1981: 91)). Charles le Beau (1701-1778) writes, "worshiping this element -fire- which was the great goddess of Iran, was nowhere so much prominent as in the ancient Azerbaijan (Atrpatkan), and it was due to this reason that they gave the name of Azerbaijan to this land. Azar means "fire" in Iranian language. "American Williams Jackson also confirmed the roots of Azerbaijan name from Azar and fireworshiping, "he has considered the existence of hills in Azerbaijan to belong to the era of Zoroastrian fireworshiping, which was formed due to the density of the ash fire temples" (Jackson, cited in Ra'isNia: 92). Although Pourdawood rejected the theory of Yaghot, he accepted Azar's name in Azerbaijan. Bartholomae, Bogolyubov and ... also regarded the name of Azerbaijan as made from Azar, the god of fire in Avesta (Ra'isNia, ibid: pages 90 on).

But the majority of the historians considered the root of the name of Azerbaijan, not because of the presence of a fire temple there, but due to the name of a personal called Atropath, the ruler of the Little Mede. The first person having a very clear account of turning the so-called "Minor Mede" to "Mede of Atropatn" or "Aturpatkan", the initial form of the name of Azerbaijan, was Strabo who was a Greek geographer settling in Amasia or Minor Asia. He writes: "when the Achaemenid kingdom came to an end, and Macedonian Alexander ruled on Iran, a commander called Atropath rose up, and he prevented the land known as the part of the Medes soil called the Minor Mede from falling to the hands of the Greeks, and that land was later termed as "Atorpathan" (Strabo, cited in Gholizadeh, 1387/2008: 34). Azeri author Aliev also affirmed this: "The Medes were divided into two separate parts: a section called Major Mede, and

the second part was Atropatkan Mede, whose name was taken from the leader of thier system named Atropatkan" (Aliev, 1389/2010:105). "Vladimirovich Bertold" also writes about the emergence of the Azerbaijan's name: "the present Azerbaijan was a part of Iranian land of Mad as long as the time of Alexander the Great and it had no separate government during the Gugmal war (331, BC) when the Satrap (the governor) of the entire Mede was someone called Atropath. Atropat was still the ruler after Alexander, so the area under his command was inherited. A part of this region called the "Minor Mede" was known as Aturupatna-Atropatan, which the Armenians called it "Atropatcan". The name of Azerbaijan originated from here. Any attempt to present another explaination for this name is without foundation" (Bertold, 1963: 775-776). Zaki Waliyed Toghan, a researcher from Turkey, also quoting "Strabo" in an article "called Azerbaijan and its historical boundaries" in "Encyclopedia of Islam" regarded the name of Azerbaijan as tied to Alexander the Great. This name has derived from the name of one of the rulers of the Kianian-Iranian dynasty called Atropathan, in the year 328 BC ruling the provinces of the land of the Medes from behalf of Alexander" (Togan, 1970: 93). Therefore, after the attack of Alexander, a part of the land of Med was given the name of its the Satrap, Atroppatan (Reza, 1382/2003: 123). Many other historians have confirmed this view.³

Therefore, the word of Azerbaijan is rooted in Atropatkan's name, the commander of the Minor Mede. It is in the same way that Uzbekistan was named after the title "Uzbek", the Ottoman Empire after Osman and Colombia was

³ Those like Ibn-e Moqfa', Maqdsi, Ibn-e Faqih, Mostofi, Noldeke, Barthold, Herzfeld, Grishman, Minorsky, Diakonoff, Pirnia, Kasravi, Pourdawood, Moein and ... know the name Azarbaijan to be derived from the name of a person called Atropat of Pahlavi or Azarpad of Farsi. The main reasoning of Istrain is that he has lived in the time of Ashkanian and he says that the descendent of Atropat were still ruling this land. Zaryab-e Khoi also write in the great Islamic encyclopedia, "Azerbaijan has been derived from the name of Atropat who ws an Iranian warrior who was the commander of the corp of the Mede in the war of Iran and Alexandar ... and he was appointed as the ruler of the Mede by Alexandar, and after the independence of Atropat this region, which was called Minor Mede before, was named after him ..." (Zaryab-e Khoi, cited in Qolizada, 1387, 32-33). Adwin Right sees no doubt in the derivation of the name of Azarbaijan from the name Atropat as there is no sign of this name in the traces related to the time prior to Alexandar. This name corresponds with the overthrow of Achamanids government anf the beggining of the independent ruling of Atropat (Azarbaijan, Right, 29).

termed after Columbus ... (Gholizadeh, 2008: 35). This word has come in the works of the Greek writers in the form of atropathene, in the middle Persian as Atropatcan, and ... in Siryani as Adobaigan, in Armenian as Atapapatcan, in Georgian as Azerbadgan, and in Arabic writings following the Syriac texts as Azarbanakan and Azarbijan, Azerbatan and ... (Gholizdeh, ibid: 37-36).⁴

Thus, the name “Azerbaijan” is rooted in Azer (fire) and Baigan (guardian) meaning the guardian of the fire or it is rooted in the name of a person Atropatan, the ruler of the "Minor Mede" which later became known as Atropatcan and then Azerbaijan after him and his descendants' name. There is no racial/ethnic and linguistic connotation in naming Minor Mede as Azerbaijan. Therefore, the existence of the name of Azerbaijan in the ancient period does not mean the

existence of a nation or language in the name of Azeri or Turk. The name of Azerbaijan, which is rooted in Atropath or Azar, is in both an aristocratic root and it is difficult to establish a relationship between it and the native culture and mass of the inhabitants of that area. If we search the root of this concept -as we have already mentioned- in the name of Azar meaning fire and Baigan meaning the guardian of fire, we can not conclude that fireworshiping was widespread in Minor Mede. Fire and Worshipping fire is the result of the Zoroastrian religion and it is a ritual or religion from eastern Iran. Due to the adherence to the Mithraism and the snake worshipping totems, the Medians not only ousted Zarathustra from the Mede land, but they were nicknamed as Ajidak, Ahriman, etc in the Zoroastrianism. The Achaemenid Empire also tried to destroy the Medes' religion and Medi-anl culture with the Zoroastrian doctrine. Therefore, they sent the biggest fire temples and the best of Moghans to the Mede district to impose the Zoroastrian doctrine on the region. After the collapse of the Major

⁴ Karim-e Keshawarz believe that the Mosta'jal government of the equalism sector put the name of Azerbaijan on that region. That area has not been called as Azerbaijan in any sources before that time (Keshawarz, in the introduction to Diakonoff, 1388, 10)

Mede and conquering its linguistic/ritual tradition focused on the Minor Mede and aristocratic Iranian families along with Magies moved there. Thus, the name of Azerbaijan, even if it is rooted in the concept of Iranian Azar, it is created and imposed by Iran, and even if some traces of Iranian/Azeri language can be found in its past before Turks' migration as some researchers⁵ pointed out, it certainly has not been a Median language. Nonetheless, it has been the imposition of Iranian aristocracy and a pure language special to the Iranian ruling class and it has had an administrative function, not taken from the Median masses of the Minor Mede. Unfortunately, since the owners of the pen and writings were not the farmer's masses and the indigenous inhabitants of that land, but they were

foreign/Iranian imposed aristocracy, some works may also be discovered in connection with the Azeri/Persian language, which does not mean that the native language of that region was Azeri/Persian- Kasravi-. As the Turkish language was imposed on that area via the invasion of the Turkish masses in the 5th century, if we accept Kasravi's hypothesis about Iranianism and the oldness of Azeri in the preceding centuries, Azeri language has been imposed by the Iranian governments and it is far different from its native/actual language. As Kasravi considers the Turkish language as a language imposed on the Native people of Azerbaijan, the Azeri language -of course, if there is such a language independent of Turkish- is the language imposed on the natives from beside the Iranians. Pahlavi language replaced the Median language in the period after the Selukians in this region (Ra'si Niya's, ibid: 854).

⁵ . Kasravi, in the book "Azari or the ancient language of Azerbaijan" published in 1304/1925, made a distinction between Azari language and Turkey and traced its back to the Medes era as a complete Iranian language in spite of the dominant view that considers Azari as from the same root and family as Turkey and as being imposed on those people on fifth century (Ra'snia, the same, 859). Before the publication of Kasravi's theory, Azarian language was known to be the same as Turkey from the part of Azari and western and even Iranian writers. However, after Kasravi's book was published, it had a great influence on calling Azari as an Iranian language. Moreover, Aliev, the prominent Azari writer, who was one of the tough advocates of Turk being of Azaries, would find out the root of Azarian language among Iranian languages and he considered it as separate from Turkish language without presenting any linguistic arguments after the publication of Kasravi's writing.

Therefore, the Azeri language is either Turkish nor Pahlavi, which is not the indigenous or Median language, but imposed on Azerbaijan by Ashkanids when the Iranian religious aristocracy dominated the Minor Mede; Iranian Pahlavi language or Azeri was imposed on the region along with the abandonment of the native language there. The Zoroastrian preachers, along with the guards of the kingdom went everywhere all the time, including Antakia, Albania, and ... spreaded their religion through force in these lands (Grigorovich, 1969a, in trans by 'Enāyat- o Allāh Režā, 1350/1971: 131). Persian language was the language of religion and Magis, it was Magis that apparently had a leading role in the new government (Atropatan Mede). This has been reflected in particular names and so on, which had come to us, and it hides the various languages and dialects that were most likely still in use at that time . . . But this new government has had an economic and political unity as before ..." (Diakonoff, 2009: 416). Notice that Diakonoff does not say that Median language was removed, but he utilizes the word "hide" in this case. Since the Iranian language imposed by the Iranian aristocracy and Maguses was the language of the rulers and owners of the pen, it has concealed Median language but it has not vanished it. Therefore, it remained alive until the fifth century, not among the ruling classes of Arab, Iranian and Turkish, but among the masses of the people who were mostly Kurds. Even after the assault of Turks, the Oghozians and the Mongols, the Kurdish language is still common in parts of the land of Atropatan Mede where Manz also included Kurdistan though Fars is the official language at the level of the offices.

Al-Boldan in 278 H, considered the people of Azerbaijan as a mixture of Azari, Ajam and Javedaniye al-Qadam (Hamavi, in trans by Gonabadi, 1362/1983: 36). Javedaniye al Qadam was the same as Khoramdinan. Thus, Hamavi that lived in 278 distinguished Khoramdinyan from the Azeri Ajam. Further, Arab historians addressed Iranians as Ajam. If he had spoken of Azerbaijanis people, he would have intended Iranians who resided in the territory of Azerbaijan like invading

Arabs and they had migrated to the region after the Medes capture by the Achaemenids. More importantly, Hamavi has written that Javdans-Khoradinan were older than Azari Ajams. Iranian language has certainly dominated the area during the past two hundred years of Iranian rule (Diakonoff, 2009: 415).

Another theory that seems to be right is that not only no ethnic/linguistic connotation is derived from the root of Atropani Azerbaijani -like the theory of Azar + baigan = guardian of fire, but also it is the result of imposing Iranian aristocracy. Atropat was the ruler of the Medes from behalf of Achaemenids. Even if a Persian or an Iranian aristocrat and a friend of the Medes, like Harpag, was appointed by the Iranian government in Minor Mede, the word "Azerbaijan" did not have a special relationship with the linguistic/racial masses living there, and it is rooted in the ruling clan appointed by Iran. Therefore, in both theories, no the racial/linguistic relationship between the term imposed on Azerbaijan and the mass of people living there can be found. Even the atropat's argument - those who know its roots not to be in Azer and fire, but in the ruler of the Atropat returns back to the same Azeri argument- those who seek the Azerbaijani root in Azar, namely fire. Pourdavood regarded Atropat as the god of the fire. Atropat was appointed agent of the Achaemenid on the Minor Mede. This name is not a personal name of the agent who watched the fire temples but it is his Iranian title in guarding fire temples of the Minor Mede. Therefore, the root of Atropat returns back also to Azerbaigan. In each case, the theory of some historians like Kasravi, Pourdavod, Strabo, Aliev ... that considered the root of Azerbaijan in the name of Atropat, the ruler of the Minor Mede, is not irrelevant to the theory of the guard of fire in the arguments of the other historians -Tabari, Hamavi and Jackson, and ...- they both originate from the same reality. Atropat has been the appointed ruler of Minor Mede and he has been appointed by the Achaemenids to preserve and promote the Zoroastrian religion, and to guard the imposed fire temples of the Zoroastrian doctrine in Minor Mede. The name Atropat itself is rooted in the guard of fire and was probably his nickname. "Atropat was the title

of a person and had religious aspect and in fact he was a religious ruler. After him, other sas well ruled this region under such a tiltle. It is also apparent from the sources that Atropatn was the main center of the Zoroastrianism" (Reza, 1382: 124). The name of Azerbaijan is also from Atropat; hence, Azerbaijan is rooted in the guard of fire. Therefore, the oldest theory about the root of Azerbaijan's name goes back to Strabo, which is very new in relation to its oldest inhabitants, the Medes, are very new and it is after being captured by the Iranians, which Iranian historians take it as a source of it, and based on which they try to find its root in Iranian culture. Kasravi, who challenges Turkish origins of Azeri bases the essence of his argument on Iranianism of Azari, whie it has been a foreign word itself in connection to the inhabitants of that land. The origin of the sources like Kasravi dates back to the period when the Minor Mede had been conquered by Iranians. If there was a historian prior to Strabo during the Medes ruling, definitely the word "Atropat" would not exist. The absence of the word can not be taken as having no meaning or content.

The main name of this region is neither Azerbaijan, nor the atropath, but it is the Minor Mede, a part of the permanent land of the Medes. Atropath was sent as a Satrap (governor) to that region in 328 BC (Reza, 1382/2003: 124), while the rule of the Medes can be traced back at least 500 years before that date. Unfortunately, in the absence of archaeological discoveries, the information we have from the Median land is arrived from the predominantly Greek historians who have written their works after the Iranian domination of the Medes and the changes made in that land. As they described Hegmataneh after Iranian changes and according to Iranian palaces like Persepolis, they described the culture and language of the Medes after Iranian domi-nation and according to Iranian culture and language. Unfortunately, there has been written about the Median era as the prehistory time and its absence in the written history does not mean its real nonexistence. Greek historians have also gathered information from the Persians oral source after inflicting Iran's language and population on the Medes and they

have issued statements about the cultural/linguistic similarity of Iranians and Minor Medians. Today's historians have confirmed this information as true regardless of the way Greek historians collected them.

Therefore, as we have explained, the word Azerbaijan has nothing to do with a particular language or people. What the Azeri language means is the Turkish language, or the branches of the Turkish language or the Ural-Altaic language. Separating Azerbaijani language from Turkish is a constructed concept. The ideological warfare of Iran and Turkey, and the attempt to attract Turks and to prevent the Turks' independentism tendencies on the part of Iran, made them consider Azerbaijani language as distinct from Turkish language and trace its roots back to Medes era and before the Turks' migration to the region. Even if the Azeri language is separate from Turkish language and it is a branch of the so-called Iranian languages, it has nothing to do with the indigenous inhabitants of Azerbaijan and it is still considered a language imposed on the region, with this difference not imposed by the Turks but by the Iranians. Therefore, if the Iranians do not recognize several centuries of the linguistic and human sovereignty of the Turks and seek to revive the Iranian identity before the rule of the Turks, the Kurds also have the right not to recognize several centuries of the linguistic, cultural, and human domination of Iranians and seek to restore the Kurdish identity of the Minor Mede.

Yarshater's argument about the Median roots of Azeri language is very humiliating and the ideas of Kasravi are very pan-Iranianist⁹, which both are equally unfounded, because, as we have already mentioned, many scholars regard Kurdish language as the survival of Median language, not Azeri. The weakness of the defenders' arguments of the Azeri ethnic/linguistic theory before the fifth century AH is clearly evident from this writing of Mahyar Nawai: "Because this province (Azerbaijan) was called Azerbaigan previously, its language and its people have become known as Azeri from the ancient times" (Ra'isNia, ibid: 858), while, as we mentioned, it was not Azerbaijan from the

old times, and after the Iranian domination on the Mede, it was called Azerbaijan or Atropatcan. Unfortunately, the historiography has started writing since Iranians ruled over Mede and imposed their language and culture on the region

⁹ Kasravi and Yarshater know the root of Azari language to be derived from the Median language and Hosseinqoli Katebi regarded the Median language as to the ancient root of Azerbaijan language. Thus, Kasravi considered Azari language to be developed from the Medes' language and the result of the combination of the language of that ethnic group with the language of the natives prior to Azerbaijan which was different from the Median language; hence, it is a semi- or half-language not a language. This is a Pa-Iranism conclusion of Kasravi as he himself said" what I wanted was to remove all the various languages which were spoken in Iran taken from Turkey, Arabic, Armani and Asyria to half-languages of Gilaki, Kurdish, Lori, Semnani and ... so that all Iranian have the same language -Farsi; this was my desire and I have tried in this regard" (Kasravi, 1304/1925: 541). He has considered the Aryans to be the superior race and he has spoken of them in an admirable tone ... he has known the civilization as the result of the Aryan race (Ra'snia, the same, 860). In this line, he has counted the Kurdish language as a half-language at the level of Gilaki and he has obviously spoken of its deterioration This connotes no meaning except providing the so-called academic support for the ethnic suppression and genocide carried out by Reza Khan. Kasravi does not give any significance to the local people before the Aryans and he considers the language to be the best means to know the race and people (Kasravi, ibid: 321). However, as Ra'snia has indicated if the language was the illustration of everything, we would consider the Egyptian Qebties as Arabs and native Americans as English people (Ra'snia, ibid: 861). Since Yarshater also has known Azerbaijan as the habitat of the Medes, he has considered Azari language as the remaining of the Median language before the advent of the Turks ... as there was no dominant language there in major centers of Azerbaijan before coming of the Turks but Ashkani and Farsi language (Ra'snia, ibid: 856). The only argument that Yarshater provides about the root of the Azari-Median language is that there had not existed any language before the advent of the Turks!!! So what about Kurdish language? Thus, as Kurdish language is disregarded, the Kurdish nation is also repented and it is based on these views of the so-called Iranian intellectuals that the Iranian politicians, from Cyrus to Reza Khan, has acquired the legitimacy to suppress and kill the Kurds.

Secondly, the existence of the word Azerbaijani does not mean that it is a connotation of the Azeri people. Many of the names of the regions are also Arabic or Turkish in Iran, do the Iranians accept that assume the people there to be always Arabs or Turks? Using or better to say abusing the name of Azerbaijan does not mean issuing a decree that the language and the people of old Azerbaijan were today's Azeri too. As we have proved, the Azerbaijani term has nothing to do with ethnic, racial or linguistic concepts.

Yaghut Hamavi says, "The Azerbaijani language was not understood except by the Azerbaijani people themselves". Spuller says some were called Kurds and the residents of a region were known as Kurds who had a vague language other than Persian, Turkish, and Arabic. Nobody knew their language (Spuller, 1952: 436, 437). If the Azeri language had been as the Turks regard it as Turkish, and Iranians knew it as a branch of Iranian language, it would certainly have

been understandable for Hamavi and the like. As we will provide more evidence later, the majority of the Azerbaijani people were Kurds before the Turks migrated there in the 5th century, and as the result, the language prevalent in that area was also Kurd-ish, which, according to Hammu, has not been understood by anyone except the people there. As, according to Spuller, Kurdish language was addressed to those who were neither Turk, nor Arab, nor Iranian, in the Seljuk period, the word Kurdistan were applied in a humiliating way for the regions that politically did not accept the sovereignty of Iran neither the Arabs nor the Turks. As the Islamic historians have pointed out, one of the parts of the geography defined as Kurdistan by the Seljukids was Azerbaijan. Thus, the people and the areas were called Kurds that were linguistically/ethnically and ethnographicly neither Turks, nor Iranians and not the Arabs ad they have undergone neither of their dominations, and they have always been rebellions and insurgents from Achamenade Cyrus to Abbasid Caliphate, Seljughs and Monguls. Therefore, a language that was not understood by anyone, in Hamavi's views, other than the inhabitants of Azerbaijan was most likely the same as the Kurdish language.

The language known as Azeri is the same Turkish language. Many Azeri/Turkish historians do not differentiate between the Azeri language and the Turkish language. "The language of Orkhon's writings -in Mongolia- is similar to that of the Turkish languages, and it has some sets of common features with the Azerbaijani language. It can be said the tribal language which is the basis of the general language of Azerbaijani people and especially the language of Oghoz tribe is close to the language of Orkhon inscriptions" (Demirchizade, cited in Ra'sNia, 1380/2001: 33). Turkish language is divided into several branches, in which Azerbaijani Turkish belongs to western group of the Turkish language family. Western branch of the Turkish language family including the Azeri language consists of the tribes of Caspian, Sabir, Sovar, Hongon, Turk-e Ghaz, Aghoz, Ghebchak and Azerbaijani language like other languages of the

western group has formed as the unique and common language of those people under the influence of the social and historical events (Demirvizzadeh, cited in Ra'sisNia, 1380/2001: 850-851). Thus, unlike some Turkish researchers who pursuit the existence of Turkish language until the Sumerian period in the region, the 11th -12th centuries after Hijra (AH) are the period of the formation of the Azerbaijani people ... "with the mass influx of the clans of Seljuk and Ghebchagh in the 11th and 10th centuries, (Turks) became majority. The Turks had come together in the 5th century to formulate the common language of Azerbaijan on the basis of the Ughuz-Seljuk and and other languages are assimilated" (Hajiev: 17, cited in Ra'sisNia, ibid: 883). Thus, even if the weak assumption of the equivalence of the Sumerian language with the Ural-Altaic is proven, it has nothing to do with Azerbaijan. Sumer is in the south of Mesopotamia, which later it became the settlement of Semitic race, and it has no historical, geographical or linguistic connection with Azerbaijan (Minor Mede). Therefore, it seems that the language and inhabitants of Azerbaijan were Kurds before the Turks migration in the 5th century. Of course, given the ignorance of Islamic historians to those regions, and non-existence of written form of Kurdish language at that time, this conclusion is merely speculation, but perhaps it is the strongest guess and hypothesis that can be put forward based on the lack of resources.

Defenders of the theory of Turkish/Azeri being of the Minor Mede argue that "without the existence of a background of Turkish language in Azerbaijan in those centuries, the entry of the Turks did not lead to change in the language of these people" (Ra'sisNia, ibid: 885). However, this may be the case, since Turks' invasion of Minor Mad (Azerbaijan) in the 12th and 11th centuries was not merely a temporary invasion and a political hegemony, but it was the massive migrations of Turks and Oghozes with a powerful military force that changed the structure of the language and the inhabitants of the region altogether. They massacred many of the natives of the region (Kurdish people), and this process

was not temporary and it continued for centuries from the Seljuk to the Safavids. As Oranesky correctly pointed out in the introduction to the Iranian philology (p: 241). "Over the course of one thousand five hundred years ago, the languages of Iran were heavily under pressure and retreated against the Turkish language in the vast territories of Central Asia and the Plateau of Iran, and the languages of an important part of the Iranian people like Sogdian and Khwarizmians and South Azerbaijan have turned into Turkish" (Oranesky, cited in Ra'sNia, ibid: 887). He has presented his view regarding the language of Azerbaijan people becoming Turkish in this way: "During the Seljuk period, Turkic tribes appeared in the northwestern regions of the Iranian plateau and Azerbaijan, and there started the process of mixing the Turkish language with the local dialects of the South Azerbaijan. The number of inhabitants (Turks) increased especially during the Mongol era, and an important part of the Azerbaijani language became Turkish language patronage. Turkishization is also observed among the Kurdish tribes of Khorasan" (Oransky, 1960, in trans by Keshavarz: 238- 244).

Kurdish Minor Mede:

According to Diakonoff, the land of Ma:da (Mede) is geographically and historically divided into three distinct parts. The first part, called the western part or the Atropaten Mede, extends from the Aras River in the north to the Alvand Mountain in the south. It includes the Lake Uromia -Rezaiya- and Jagto and other rivers that are entering it in parallel to the lake as well as the area of the Ghezel Ozan Valley -Sefidroud River- crossing the Alborz Mountains near the present city of Rasht entering the Khazhar Sea. This area, which now includes Azerbaijan and Iran's Kurdistan, covers the mountain chains extending from north to south or from northwest to southeast. The Atropatan Mede is divided into 12 main geographic regions: 1. From Aras river to Averindagh mountains

and Qaradagh, which includes the current cities of Qotor, Khoy and Marand. 2. Qaresou river valley - Southern Branch of Aras River. 3. District of Uromia lake ... 4. Valley of the Qezel Ozon River -Sefidroud River- and its branches ... 5. Upper section of the small Zab River ... eastern chain of of Horizontal mountains ... from Urmia to the Diyala River ... Current cities between Duab, Bane, Sulaimaniyah and Zahab and Sanandaj ... 6. Upper part of the Diyala River The triangle of current cities of Sulaimaniyah, Zahab and Sanandaj, where Shahrezor near Sulaimaniyah were then more crowded in this part, and ... Zagros mountains towards Hamedan. 7. The middle section of the Diyala Route ... near the current city of Khanaqin and 8. Upper section of Karkheh River: Mahidasht and Seymareh and Gamasiab ... Mountains of Lorestan 9. Lower Mede and Partakanan areas including Hamedan, Isfahan, Rey and ... (Diakonoff, 1985, in trans by Keshavarz, 1379/2000: 79 onwards ...).

The purpose of this quotations from Diaonoff's book is to say that the vast majority of the Atropattin Mad also form Kurdish cities in the current time. As we have already explained in detail, from Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions to Islamic historians and ... its Kurdish inhabitants, words like Kardou, Kardoqui, and Kurti, Gauti and Kurd have always been used to address the inhabitants of this area throughout history, but no documents from Turkic or simi-lar languages have been used in address to the inhabitants of this border. Therefore, as Minursky has pointed out, the emergence of northwestern dialects of Iran has not taken place without the participation of the Median factor and the expantion and development of the Kurds has become possible only from the land of Minor Mede, that is, the same Atropatcan or the present-day Azerbaijani (Minorsky, cited in Nikitin, ibid: 47). As we mentioned earlier, this possibility that the main survivors of the Medes are Kurds is one of the current strongest hypothesis. If a language other than Kurdish had been common in the region and if that language had been Azeri Turkish at the present or in the past, it would have been due to the Turks' invasion from the 11th century BC onwards. If Azeri

had been Iranian, which Kasravi and Aliev advocated it, it would have been as the result of the imposition of the Iranian speaking government system in the Achaemenid period - the Atropaths family - and later on that region. Diakonov also pointed out that the inhabitants of that area, namely the Atropatin Mede - like Mannayans, Lolubian, Kaspian, and the others -still considered themselves as "Median" during the period of "Atropatain" dynesty and they retained their own characteristics. However, the Iranian language was a religious language and language of Mogis. Perhaps, it was the lan-guage that became famous as the ancient Azeri based on some like Kasravi- Qaderi. Thus, Mogis also had a leading role in the new government, i.e. Madat Atropatan, which made the language and dialects that were most likely prevalent that time in Medncealed. (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 416).

Diakonoff sees the northern boundary of Atropatan Medes as up to the Aras river. But where was the geographical area of Azerbaijan (Minor Mede) on the northern border? Mo'jaem al Boladan considered", the border of Azerbaijan, ... from the north to Bard'e, from the east to Dilam and from the south to Tarom and Zanjan ... Ibn-e Faqih has counted " Barda'i "and" Del Arran "as a part of Azerbaijan city. Zakaria Ghazvini has introduced Aran between Azerbaijan, Armina and ..." (Ra'isNia, *ibid*: 77). Ibn-e Asir also while speaking on the war with in the chapter on Fazlon-Alkurdi's war considered Azerbaijan a part of Azerbaijan (Ibn-e Asir, the events of 420 and ...). Ibn-e Hoqol has identified three aforementioned territories -Armenia, Aran, Azerbaijan- as one realm because it was always under the rule of one-person, from Ibn-e Abi al-Saj to Disam Ibn-e Shazelyeh and Marzban Ibn-e Mohammad Salar

It is clear from the texts that the lands on both sides of the Aras river were a geographic and political unit during the Islamic era that had a close political, cultural and ethnic linkage. This situation continued until the successive waves of Salajaq came along and defeated the local governments of Azerbaijan and Aran. Aran also joined Azerbaijan. The massive migrations of Turkish speaking

people to both lands, the intensification of the widespread process of Turkish language spread, the formation of the Azerbaijani language and the retreat of local languages that provided a suitable condition for accelerating the process of a comprehensive cultural and ethnic communication on both sides of Aras river was reinforced after Mongol invasion. Aran, which became a part of Azerbaijan, even lost his name. The name of Qarabagh took the place of Aran. The Greeks put the name of Albania on this area. Then (in the Islamic period), it turned into Aran and (in the Mongol era) to Qarabagh, which included Shakki, Shirvan, Ganjah, Daghestan, Nakhchivan, and so on. In the era of FatehAliShah, it was the Provinces of Iran and later it joined Tsarist Russia according to the Golestan Treaty (1828-1222) And Turkmen Chai Treaty (1828-1243) (Ra'sisNia, ibid: 87 and 88). This territory was called the Independent Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918 and the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in 1920. The Russians gave it the name of Azerbaijan (ibid: 89).

The scientists of the Soviet Union considered the people of Albania (Aran) as composed of Utah, Caspian, and tribes. Diakonov knew all of them -as mentioned before- Medians. Uti is the same as Guti, that is, it is the result of the fall of "K" from its beginning that is special to the Zagros mountainous languages. The Eilamite language also has such a character (Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009: 97). Utians lived in the south of the Aras river in Azerbaijan (Minor Mede, Qaderi) where earlier, according to information from the Sumerians and Akadians, Guthians lived there. In Armenian sources, sometimes the Albania was called Otti, Albanians and Otians. Therefore, the ancient Gothian of Azerbaijan ... are the same later Utias of the South of the Transcaucasian. Gutian were severely weakened after centuries of predominance in Mezopotamia. At the end of the 22nd century BC, they were put out from that region and they returned to their home country in the mountains of Kurdistan and South Azerbaijan and after conflicting with residents there, they set off to the south of the Transcaucasian region in search of a secure place in the north.

The resources of the Urartu called them Ethions after more than one thousand years.

Herodotus mentioned the name of Otiun residing in the southern regions of Aras in the 5th century AD. They settled in Albania after 500 years, and the medieval writers called the whole Albania as Oti and the Albanians as Otiana (Aliyev, the same, 97, and 98). Herodotus stated the name of Caspian, Mukhvi and Otian tribes in the sixth and fifth centuries BC in the eastern Caucasus (cited in Reza, 1382/2003: 135). These three ethnic groups formed the basic core of the inhabitants of the region that was later called the Albany (ibid: 136). The oldest mention of the Kashi people dates back to the third millennium BC. Strabo identified the place of Cascians in the eastern part of the Caucasus and the borders of the Caspian Sea, and most researchers identified their land as the same with the Patyiakaran -Kaspak- region between two rivers of Kor and Aras, and the Caspian Sea (ibid: 137). Therefore, the main inhabitants of the Albanian region that later was called "Aran" were Utis, that is, the same as Gutian Kurds and Kasis/Caspinas, which were also Kurdish main tribes. According to Strabo, the ancient name of the Caspian Sea is related to the same name (Kaspian) (Strabo, 1984: 4).

Herzfeld asserts that "ass" was pronounced as "asp" in the Median language. For this reason, kass has changed into kasp (Herzfeld, 1968: 195). The people of Kaspi were clans of the Casi tribes; the word "pi" means water bank and Caspian can be considered as the Kasis by the Sea (Reza, 1382/2003: 138). We have already stated that the Casis and Guties were the main inhabitants of the Medes. Cascians and Guties have lived in these districts since 3000 BC, while Iranians' migration to these areas cannot be traced back to two thousand years BC. Thus, the Cascians and the Utai inhabitants of the Albania were not Iranian but they were Median/Kurd and they gradually waded away after Iranian occupation and migration until they were vanished forever after the invasion of Turks.

Albania was a non-Aryan land (Markwart, 1901: 117), whose main people (Albania, Arran) did not have any association with any of their great neighbors. Iranians penetrated into this area to defend their borders in the time of the Achaemenid and then the Sassanid. The memory of the fortifications of that area, namely, Darband (in the Armenian, Joor and in Ar-abic, Bob), and many of its gates remind us of the Sassanid kings, i.e. Kavat-Ghobad – 538 - 488 and Anushirvān. The appointed puppet Amirs organized the issues and the term Tabarsaran, Shah Khorasan and ... refer to the first class of these indigenous stooges and some of these tribal names are not taken from the names of the main tribes of those regions, but they are derived from the name of the alien aristocracy of Iranians (Qaderi) at the top (Minorsky, 1953, in trans by Khadem, 1387/2008: 21-20). In Sassanids time about a thousand Mehof ranian family were displaced to the Aran region (Minorsky, *ibid*). The Sasanians moved Persian people to Albani in order to keep that place under their control and to create their own backing there (Ra'sisNia, 1380/2001: 19). In the last years of the Sassanids rule, the Mehrani family, a branch of the Sasanian dynasty has commanded the Caucasian Albanians (Ra'sisNia, *ibid*: 33). Sassanids kept large military units to defend this passage; further, they built forts in the country's internal divisions, and deployed military units there. The cost of these units was on the native people of this place. Sassanid kings used to settle the Iranian tribes in strategically important places to create supporters (Babayev, cited in Ra'sisNia, *ibid*: 19-20). Apart from the the rule of Albani Mehrani, the border guard stooge in the Sassanid court was Shahrbaraz that was from the people of Fars (Persia) and from the family of Shahrbaraz (Ra'sisNia, *ibid*: 34). Anoushirvan, who had previously transferred the Turks to Azerbaijan and the South Caucasus, sought settlement policy of Persians in this land in order to make them minority and he settled a Persian society called "Siasija" here, and also a crowd of Sogdians in the vicinity of Tibilisi, he moved the Turks to the more indigenous territories of Iran (Toghan, cited in Ra'sisNia, the same).

Beladhuri has asserted that Siasijan or the Persian society were still rulers in Aran until the advent of Islam and afterwards they abandoned their fortresses (ibid: 21). After the advent of Islam, 24,000 Arab armies were also displaced there and there was captured by the Arabs whom they called Darband as "Baba al-Aboub and albania" as Aran (ibid: 22)

"Barda'e", the next capital of Albania, was established by someone called "Vache" (a Horami word meaning "say", Qaderi) in the Sassanian age. The Yazdgerd II, the Sassanid king, forced Vache, the king of Albania, to accept the Maguses religion (Reza, 1386/2007: 268). In the year 461 AH "Vavhe" became rebellious and lost his throne and the Sasanians themselves ran his country" (Minorsky, ibid: 19-18). Thus, the Albanian region (Aran), which both geographically and linguistically/racially was part of the Medes, came seriously under linguistic/demographic and political attack of Iranians. The presence of Iranian invaders in the Caucasus at the vicinities of gates played an important role in attracting or retreating the main inhabitants (Minorsky, ibid: 22). Thus, the first foreign invaders entering the land of Minor Medes (Azerbaijan and Albania) were Iranians/Persians, who forced the masses of the inhabitants of Guti, Caspian and ... (Kurd) to retreated or assimilate them in the ruling culture and language. Therefore, the Albany region has been under the control of the Achaemenid government since the time of Darius I (Reza, cited in Ra'sisNia, 1380/2001: 33). Before that, we have had no evidence of its connection with Iran and Iranian administration; hence, along with Iranian political domination, the Iranian people, language and culture/religion also little by little influenced the ruling administration of that area.

Therefore, both sides of the Aras river were ethnically homogeneous. Kurds were also present on both sides of Aras river in the early Islamic centuries (Ra'sisNia, 1380/2001: 42). The Kurds still live in the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia, and the name of many places are compound words formed with

Kurds on the two sides of the Kor river (Minorsky, cited in Ra’isNia, *ibid*: 43). The Kurds infiltrated in Azerbaijan in ancient times and even crossed the Aras river, and it seems that the Kurds, with a more permanent settlement in Azerbaijan, protected it against the invaders of the Caspian provinces (Minorsky, cited in Ra’isNia: *ibid*). Ganjavi’s mother was also from Kurd race as he indicated this point in the preface to the *Masnavi* of Laily and Majnoon:

Sharfkhan Bedlisi also pointed out to the residence of twenty-four groups of Kurds in Qarabagh (Ra'sNia, *ibid*: 43). But Barthold considered the Aras River not only as the natural boundary, but also as the ethnic and racial boundary: "Aras River, that now separates Iranian Azerbaijan from the Caucasus, was a decisive ethnic and racial border between the land of Iran and the Medes and the land of Albania in ancient times. According to N. Marr, the Albanian people were from the tribes of Japhetis (Barthold, 1984: 775). "Barthold's view can not be true and there existed no specific ethnic and racial border between two sides of Aras river and it has always been non-Aryan/Iranian. As we said, Markwart, like N. Marr, considered the Albania a non-Aryan land (Markwart, 1901, in trans by MirAhmadi, 1373/1994: 117). But centuries of Iranian political domination and, as we have pointed out, the settlement of Iranian immigrants in these regions, Kurd's settlement hegemony was lost in areas closer to Iran and with greater possibility of emigration and domination. Based on the official written sources that are the archives of the ruling system, this side of Aras River have been considered as similar to Iranian language and culture and as the result Iranian.

The northern part of the Minor Mede (Azerbaijan) underwent profound linguistic/racial changes as the result of the invasion of the Turks and Mongols (5. E. 11 BC). The invasion of the Turks/Mongols, unlike the Iranian invasion some centuries before, was not merely a political/linguistic assault, but a

population/demographic attack, and, unlike the cultural/linguistic and political domination of Iran, they gained ethnic domination through the killing of residents of that area in many places. The native demography of those areas were transformed during the Seljuk, the Mongols and Timurid periods and brought large areas of land under their possession in the west of Iran (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1979/2000: 143).

During the time of Wahsudan in 416 H, the first wave of migrating Turks of Ghaz arrived in Azerbaijan, and they were going to completely change the demography of that place. The second wave of the Turks, which was stronger occurred under the command of Bugha and ... in 429 H, 1037 BC and they looted the country. In 429, they looted Maragha and killed the inhabitants of the city. They massacred many Kurds and looted their villages (Madelung, 1997, in trans by Namaie, 1379/200: 206, 207). They killed large groups of Kurds (Reza, 1390/2011: 230). Apart from the migration and invasion of the Arab tribes, Turks and Mongols raided those areas during the Islamic era in the 5th and 6th centuries. In 458, when the Turks raided Shervan, its residents were Kurds and they plundered the Kurds' houses (Minorsky, *ibid*: 63 and 87). With the entry and replacement of Turkic tribes, the Turkish language spreaded in Eran and Sharwan and the area of Darband and Dagestan, and later on dominated native languages (Reza, 1382: 530). Thus, the Turkish language tightened its pressure on local languages in the centuries 11-112th BC, 6-5th centuries AH (*ibid*: 532). Therefore, the newly-built seedlings of Turks and Mongols were watered only with the blood of Kurd in the Minor Mede area (Azerbaijan and Aryan). As many historians have pointed out⁶⁴, and we will come to it later, in the Islamic period, before the invasion of the Turks/Mongols, the majority of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan and Eran and Sherwan were Kurd and this is quite evident from the governments and emirates under the control of Shadadian and Rawadian⁶⁵. When Arabs defeated Iran army in the war of Qadesia, Rostam, commander of the Iran Corps, proposed Yazdgerd to retreat to Azerbaijan (Minor Mede), but

Yazdgerd headed to Khorasan due to this fact that the inhabitants of Azerbaijan were Mazdakids and he was uncertain about their support (Kasravi, 1356: 46). Who were the inhabitants of Azerbaijan whom Sassanid king had no hope in their support, and, like Darius III, after being defeated from Alexander, went to Khorasan instead of the Minor Mede and the Ekbatan? As we discussed earlier, Azerbaijan is rooted in the name of the Atropath, the Achaemenid Satrap of the Minor Mede and there is no ethnic/racial connotation in it. We also noted that the inhabitants of Azerbaijan were the natives of Mede/Guti prior to the arrival of Islam and they were Kurds according to the majority of scholars. If Iranians or the Iranian language had penetrated it, it has been due to political domination, the influence of the Iranian element and it has been limited to the ruling aristocracy. Nonetheess, what ethnic/racial group was Azerbaijan composed of in the Islamic period?

Most of the population of Azerbaijan were Iranians during the conquest of Arabs, and most of their various dialects were Kurds (Madelung, *ibid*: 196). Kurd being of Azerbaijani people was evident in a contract between Azerbaijan border guards (Marzban) and Hazigha, the commander (Sardar) of Omar (second caliph): Marzban (of Azerbaijan) made peace with Hazigha on behalf of all the people of Azarbaijan and paid seven hundreds thousands Derham provided that Hazigha do not kill and capture anyone and do not ruin the fire temples and do not attack the Kurds of Lasjan, Sabalan and Satrodan and especially do not prevent the Shiz people from dancing and dancing during the Eid (feast) days and other occasions (Beladhuri, in trans by Azarnosh, 1364/1985: 84). In this agreement, which Bladhuri points it out, the Azerbaijani border guard made peace for all Azerbaijanis on condition that Kurds are not attacked.

After the conquests of Islam and the replacement of numerous Arab, Iranian and Turkish dynasties, the Kurdistan and Azerbaijan regions have always been rebellious, and they have accepted the sovereignty of none of the rulers except in appearance. "Throughout these centuries, the whole of Iran and what was

beyond the domain of the Ghaznavids and Samanids, in particular (Jibal and Azerbaijan, Qaderi) was the activity scene of the Kurd tribes and the tribes of the "Shabankarai". "Albeit, they did not have any difference with the primitive Arabs and tribes of Turks and Ghaz in terms of the pastoral and nomadic life; however, signs of local and ethnic culture linked them to Iran and the ancient world in terms of race, language and customs" (Zarinkob, 1368/1987: 331). Of course, the common name of Iran is constructed based on Iranism-orientated mind of Zarinkob. "In general sense, what is called Kurd among these tribes ... included all the clans of Shabankara, who were shepherds and did not have a habitat in the city; nonetheless, in the specific meaning, this title implied a reference to the unique and specific ethnic element that has been present everywhere in Zagros areas since the early Islamic era with its special linguistic and cultural features and with its ethical and ritual characteristics. Kurdkai in Sumerian inscriptions, Kurdkhoi of Xenophon, Amade and Parsowa (Assyrian inscription-Qaderi) all are references to the same Kurds" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 332). As we have said, the concept of Iran is the construction of Persian historians, while according to the above mentioned references from Zarinkob himself, Kurdkhoi and Amadi have the same origins which expresses the relations of Azerbaijan people with Gutis and Kurd. Zarinkob continues to acknowledge the majority of Kurds in the regions of Azerbaijan, Aran and Jabal (Minor Mede) during the Abbasids period and up to the beginning of the end of the demographic/political hegemony of the attacking Seljuk Turks. "In the first centuries of Islamic history, the role of Kurds in a special not in the general sense, ... and their housing included from around Zagros mountains to Azerbaijan, Aran, and Darband (Daghestan) regions, and in these areas there were generations of Kurds who have had long or short governments or have been as warriors in the system of non-Kurdish rulers ... they have had agreement with the Kharijites because of their ideological consistency with their shepherd nature. Their role is evident in the rebellion of the owner of the Zanj (dignitaries),

Daisam-e Hassanoya in Dinawar, Shadiyan and Rawdian in Aran and Azerbaijan ... the era when the rise of Tugril Baig of Seljukhi ended it ..." (Zarinkob, *ibid*; 333). Therefore, the hegemony of the Kurdish population in Azerbaijan before the Seljuqs is acknowledged. Kurds from Iranians lineage were present in both sides of Aras in the early Islamic centuries (Ra'sisNina, 1380/2001: 42).

Minorsky also considered the main backbone of Babak's revolt as people of a warrior nomad and regarded the main shelter of the Kurds in the south of Armenia -Aras, the same region of Babak's rebellion.

As the historians have pointed out, the inhabitants of the land of the Minor Mede (Azerbaijan Aran) have always been insurgents against the rule of the Caliphs and their puppet emperors (Taherian, Samanids, Ghaznavids, etc.). One of the most important insurrections in these areas was Khorramdinan rebellion following the Javidyanids and Mazdakis were Kurds like the Shadadians and the Rawadians (we will focus on the Khorramdinan independently). If there had existed a non-Kurdish government in this area, it would not have been because of non-Kurdish residents, but because of foreign political domination. One of the foreign/imposed families ruling on behalf of the Khalifa because of their participation in the crackdown on Khurdamin in Azerbaijan were Sajians. "Abu al-Sajj -the Sajan dynasty- had authority on behalf of Khaliphe in Azerbaijan. He was from the tribes of Ashursneh and relatives of Afshin from the Sughd tribe who showed a significant valor and violence during the wars of Afshin, Khalifa's commandar, with the Babak Khoramdin Corps –221. After the capture of Afshin, he remained loyal to the Caliph and placed his sword under the command of the Abbasid caliph (Zarinkob, 1384/2005; 303). Muhammad ibn Abi al-Sajj had become the agent of establishing order in Azerbaijan and Armenia from about 794/276 from behalf of Mo'etamed, the Caliph. He was able to bring the provinces of Azerbaijan, Aran, and Armenia under his control with help of his brother, Yousef (Ra'sisNia, 1380/2001: 380). After the extinction of the Sa'jians family (the non-indigenous dynasty- Qaderi), Azerbaijan fell to

the rule of Disman ibn Ibrahim Shadlevyeh, a Kurd from Khawarij (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 326).

Kurdish rulers: Rawadians and Shadadians

Rawadians:

Before focusing on Rawadian, we should have some brief remarks of “Kurish Daisam”. As we mentioned, the Sajian was a non-indigenous government imposed by the Caliph. But, how did he get to rule in Azerbaijan? Historians have pointed out that Daisam managed temporarily to rule there as the result of the majority of Kurds in Tabriz and Azerbaijan (Madelung in Fry 1379/2000: 203, 202; Zarinkob, *ibid*: 310; Kasravi, 1377/1998: 60, 64-65). Marzban got along with Daisam since he had the support of Ardebil and Tabriz Kurds (Zarinkob, *ibids*) and Wahsudan Al-e-Al Mosafer sent Daisam to Azerbaijan against the attack of Muhammad ibn-e Abdul Razak from Tous to Azerbaijan as he knew Azerbaijan very well and he had the support of the Kurds there (Madelung, *ibid*: 203, Kasravi, *ibid*). Therefore, Daisam was not only a foreign ruler from behalf of the Caliph, but he was from Khawarij (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 326) and father of Daisam was one of the aides of Haron-e Waziqi, the chief of Mosul Khawarij, and Daisam, like his father, had the Khawarij religion (Madelung, *ibid*: 201) and he had no belief in the Caliph and the Caliphate (Kasravi, *ibid*: 60). His frigid sovereignty was made possible as the result of his being Kurd and he was also co-language and co-race of the majority of the residents of Azerbaijan.

After Daisam’s failure to establish a stable government in Azerbaijan, Rawadis, that many of the historians have known these places to be Kurds, came to power based on the dominance of the Kurdish element in Azerbaijan (Madelung, *ibid*: 205). With the decline of Al-e Al Almosafer, their realm fell to the hands of Rawadi Kurds and with the prevalence of the Azerbaijan Kurds, they abstracted

the power from the hand of Dailamians (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 313). Abu Alhaija, the Kurds leader (Madelung, *ibid*: 207) seized Marzban with the help of the Kurds, and he ended the power of the Salarians in Azerbaijan along with his imprisonment and murder -370, and with the domination of Rawadian Kurds, the reign of the Salarians of Dailami (Dailamians are not from Azerbaijan, but their settlement is in the north of Iran, Qaderi) came to an end in Azerbaijan (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 314). Rawadians were Azerbaijani Kurds and with their conquest, a generation of Kurds took the place of Dailamian in the Emirate of Azerbaijan. Long term glory of Daisam's ruling could not lead to the creation of a Kurdish dynasty in Azerbaijan, but the Abu Alhaija al Rawadi's conquest realized it (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 315). It is true that Rawadians came to power in the fourth century AH, but the permanent inhabitants of Azerbaijan were removed from the political scene due to their opposition with the Caliph after that time. "Ibn-e Rawad's sons were well-known in the events of the Qaron and Ma'mun times in Azerbaijan. Gradually, after the events of Babak's uprising, their fame came to an end. During the era of Al-Saj's conquest, the castle of Baz was destroyed and Tabriz's areas exited from under their control" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 316). "Three sons of Rawad, Wajna, Yahya and Mohammad revolted at the time of Haron al-Rashid in Tabriz and Azerbaijan... Blazori writes Wajna and his brothers established foundations in Tabriz. Ibn Nadim says that Babak worked in Tabriz for two years with Mohammad Ibn-e Rawad and then returned to his mother" (Kasravi, 1377/1998: 135). Ibne-Khordadba, who wrote his book in 234 AH, in counting the cities of Azerbaijan considered Tabriz as belonging to Mohammad Ibn-e Rawad (Kasravi, *ibid*). Thus, Kurdish Rawadians have been the rulers of Tabriz and Ardabil many years before Babak, but there is no name of this family till the next century until Abu Alhaija was recognized as Ahar and Varzaghan's lord and became king of all Azerbaijan (Kasravi, *ibid*: 136).

But there are many doubts about the lineage of Rawadians, not only the Arab and Persian historians, but also the orientalists of Europe who have been exploring and compiling books, have never known them (Kasravi, 1377, 115). Kasravi writes in response to find out the reasons for Rawadians remaining in vague: "Since 369, when Ibn Maskoye finished his history book Tarikho-al Omam, until the year 420, when Ibn Asir first mentioned the name of Wahsudan, the history of Azerbaijanis is quite dark. 50 years after the fall of Salarian and the kingdom of Rawadian are among the events of this dark period, there is no trace of the Persian and Arab historians Orientalists, who have read the book of Ibn Maskoye, and then suddenly they have seen the name of Wahsudan, the lord of Azarbayjan in the Book of Ibn Asir..., have considered Wahsudan as the survival of Salarians family, especially since Wahsudan is one of the names of Daileman, they have assumed Mamalan also as one of the names of Dailemians. Kasravi also admires in the book "Azeri or the ancient language of Azarbaigan" that he has mistakenly assumed Wahsudan and Mamalan as Dailami ... then I realized it as conjecture and those two Amirs were from separate families called Rawadian, and as we have seen they have ruled over Azerbaijan since centuries earlier (Kasravi, ibid: 116).

Kasravi considers Rawadians as from Arab race and believes there were two important Arabic and Kurdish Rawadians in the 4th and 5th centuries in Azerbaijan. One were Azdi Rawadians who had Arabic origin and the other who were the family of Mohammad bin Shidat, i.e. the rulers of Aran and Shadadian and they were from Kurdish race (ibid:132). The only weak argument of Kasravi in considering Rawadians as two separate families is his reliance on Ibn Khalkan, who wrote the name of this tribe "a" after its "r" and then "o", a "w" without stress and also different from Tazi (Arabic) Rawadian "(Kasravi, ibid: 226) which definitely is not a convincing reason in regarding Rawdians as two distinctive clans.

In response to Kasravi, Zarinkob writes: "because of the predominance of non-Arabic elements in Azerbaijan, Rawadians were transformed from Arabic to Kurdish decent". Given that "Taherians displayed themselves as Arabs in Khorasan, the transformation from the Mavalat of Ezdi tribe to Kurdish decent and the Kurdish race was not strange and did not make any problem in the racial environment of that place" and the predominance of non-Arab elements in Azerbaijan of that era could justify the racial transformation of Rawadian Abo al Haija's progeny from Arabic to Kurdish lineage as well Zarinkob Adds that " this point that, in some of the later narratives, Kurds lineage have been traced back to Arabs has apparently been the justification for Ezdi Arabs becoming Kurds among the Rawadians" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 316, 317 and the footnote of 558). Minorsky also realizes Rawadians becoming Kurds as the result of Kurds domination and hegemony. "For the Arabs isolated in Azerbaijan, marriage with local elements was natural, as far as Al-Rawad alAzdi lost its true meaning and Al-Rawad al-Kurdi replaced it (Minorsky, 1944, in trans by Behzadi, 1378/1999: 165).

Besides, he writes: "Although Mohammed bin Shidad was a Kurd, it does not seem that he had a direct relationship with the Tabriz Rawadians. They had Arabic decent, and they found Kurdish descent through local marriages" (*ibid*: 48). Taking preliminaries of Zarinkob and Minorsky as true, the result derived from these prepositions is illogical and it is a reversed argument. Minorsky and Zarinkob acknowledged the hegemony and the linguistic/ethnic majority of the Kurds in Azerbaijan and the Aran, and they considered the dominance of the non-Arabic -Kurdish- element as because of the racial transformation of the Ezdi Arabs to the Kurds, and they gave some examples that are against their own argument. This issue that Taherian traced back their decent to Arabs was based on the Arabic cultural/linguistic hegemony in the whole world of Islam, but certainly no Arab was proud of being a Kurd -which in that period was a humiliating name- similar to the Tur. It was true that the Kurds formed the

majority of Azerbaijan population, but this would not bring political/cultural legitimacy so that Arabs would like to attribute their decent to the Kurds. Thus, it was Kurds who attributed their descent to the Arabs and forged fabricated lineages for themselves. A lot of Kurds families became Shaibanian -Arabs-through forging fake genealogies (Translator's Introduction on Tajarobo al Omam of Ibn-e Maskoya, Menzawi, 1376/1997: 8) like Kurds of Rawadians that made Arabic decent for themselves. In Khorasan, the Persians were the majority, while, as Zarinkob himself points out, Arabs not only did not make any fake Persian racial origions for themselves, but Taherians attributed their origins to the Arabs. It is also a reversed argument that the Arab historians -the Mas'oudi and ... traced back their descendants to Kurds since many Kurds, due to the cultural/political domination of the Arabs, have brought back their origins to the Arabs and the Arabic origins of the Kurds were created by Arab historians. Therefore, we have no, as Kasravi says, two separate tribes or ethnicities and neither the ancestors of Rawadis, as Zarinkob writes, were Arabs. But only there was only a Rawadi tribe whose ancestors, abandoned by the Abbasids Caliphs and hidden in the history, have made lineages to achieve legitimacy of the government from the Caliphs, whom every kind of legitimacy was subject to the Caliph's approval like the Taherians, the Safavids, and even today's ruling regime in Iran. In the vast majority of sources -we will continue to discuss it- if we do not take Kasravi's imaginative creations seriously, the historian writings have been transcribed ten times before getting to Kasravi -the ethnicity and language of a people has been faked; two Rawadian tribes have been considered as separate from each other and there has been no reference to Arab being of Rawadians. Rawadians have been a Kurdish clan whom they may have introduced their race as Arab for political legitimacy and this can not be the reason that they were Arabs.

Kasravi himself, referring to Ibn-e Maskoye, who was living in the same developmental period of that age of Azerbaijan, and quoting Ibn-e Amid,

repeated this point that Azerbaijan Kurds were numerous and dominant. (Kasravi, *ibid*: 102). Further, Ibn-e Amid and Ibn-e Maskoye regarded Abu alHajah as a Kurd (*ibid*: 102). Kasravi questioned Ibn-e Maskoye and Ibn-e Amīd's ideas, who lived in the same period of Rawadians, and he rejects Abulhaija being Kurd. "Ibn-e Amid and Ibn Maskoye have made a mistake that they considered Abūalhaija as Kurd". Although he admits that Kurds have always been numerous in Azerbaijan, they were not dominant in Rawadian period" (*ibid*: 102). Other historians like French Maklir, Madlung, Minorsky, Zarinkob, Ibn-e Asir, Ibn-e Khalkan and ... ordained Rawadians to be Kurds. Kasravi himself narrates that historians other than Ibn-e Asir did not consider the history of this group (Rawadians). Ibn-e Asir also regarded Rawadians and Abu al Hajja as Kurd (Ibn-e Asir, the events of the years 420, cited in Kasravi, *ibid*: 168) Thus, Kasravi's claim that Rawadians were Arabs are among the same mistakes, that is tracing their decent back to Arabs, that many Kurds and Iranians committed ... just because of the cultural/political hegemony of Arabs. Another reason why there are doubts on the kurdishness of Rawadians and other dynasties and the people of the region is that, as Kasravi himself pointed out, the ancient Persians and Islamic historians narrated only the history of the kings (Kasravi, *ibid*: 10) and narrating Kurds who have not occupied other countries and have not built an empire and have not had much effect on the history of the Middle East have not been so appealing to historians (Zarnoff, the introduction to *Sherafname*). Because of this, only two historians stated such events. Caliph Aydi Bay, one of the writers of Safavids and the other, Monajimbashi, one of the entourages of Sultan Salim, in the Book of *Saha'if alAkhbar* (Kasravi, *ibid*: 12). Monajimbashi also narrated from the original version of *Bab al-Abwab* that the original work of *Bab al-Abwab* has disappeared (Minorsky, 2008: 5). The author of *Bab al-Abwab* who, according to Monajembashi, died in the 500s, hated the Georgians and the invading Turks (Minorsky, *ibid*: 5). Unfortunately, the origional book of *Bab alAbwab*, whose author hated the Turks and Georgians

and is likely to be a Kurd, has not been found and surely Monajimbashi, a Turk has quoted from this book based on his own desire as he was in the court of Sultan Salim who tried to attract and subdue Kurds clans. In support of this statement, we can compare the Turkish text of this work, published as *Sahif al-Akhbar* in Istanbul, with the original text. The Turkish translation is just an upshot of the text, along with the removal of many important points of the Arabic original text (Minorsky, 1958, in trans by Khadem, 1387/2008: 3). Three chapters of Mosaferians, Rawadians and Shadadians containing 21 pages and 651 lines in the original version involves only 31 lines and Rawadians have been completely eliminated ... Shervin and Darband parts in *Bab al Abwab* which concerns us, in version A, contains 25 pages and 755 lines, while it is only 83 lines in the Turkish translation (Minorsky, *ibid*: 4-5). Its Turkish translation was published in 1285-1868 AH in which the chapter related to Rawadian was completely eliminated and the rest was abridged and manipulated, because it was related to the Kurds; thus, the elimination of the history of Azerbaijan was a deliberate act. This manipulation of the original text occurred in 1868, when the Ottoman Empire was still under the flag of Islam and it tried to split the heart of the infidels with the sword of

Islam with Turk, Arab and Kurd soldiers, and then there was still neither news of modern nationalism, nor the young Turks movement, but in the translation of the book by Monajimbashi into Turkish, the part that is related to the Kurds has been completely eliminated, abridged and vandalized.⁷⁰

Abu al Haija (a Kurd) defeated Abu Dolf Shibani in the areas of Ardabil and Nakhchivan and annexed the territories of Sporgans to the Aran tribes in the 378 AH (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 317). After Abu al Haija, his son, Mamlan, took his father's place and his reputation was mostly due to the sacred wars that he had with the rulers of Nasrani, Georgian, Armenian, and even Byzantine armies. His son and his successor, Abu Mansour Wahsodan, became the ruler in 410 AH (*ibid*: 318). Since 369, when Ibn-e Masakoye finished his history book and up to the time

when Ibn-e Asir named Wahsodan for the first time, the history of Azerbaijan is quite dark. Due to the fact that the Wahsodan is a Dailamian name, historians have erroneously considered both Wahsodan and Mamlan as Dailamian, and they considered them as the survival of the Salarian family (Kasravi, *ibid*: 116). Zarinkob also knows Rawadians, Wahsodans, and Mamalans as Kurdish leaders of them and he considers Dailami names of Rawdians as the result of their racial blend (*ibid*: 317). He distinguished between Abu Mansour Wahsodan, son of Mamalan and the nephew of Kurdish Abu al Haija that tried to evict the Ghaz and Turk attackers with the help of his Kurd relatives in Azerbaijan (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 322).

"Simultaneous with Wahsodan's ruling, the tribes of Ghaz following the unhappiness of Sultan Mahmmode Ghaznavi attacked Jibal provinces and Esfahan from around Khorasan and came to the border of Azerbaijan. Wahsodan, a Rawadian Kurd- Qaderi, first hoped in thier existence in those areas to repel his enemies with . . . But their rebellions as the result of desrtic and rustic manner made the province so insecure that Wahsodan in Tabriz and Maragheh sought to expel them in 430 AH. With the help of Kurdish relatives and with reliance on the people's hatred towards them, Wahsodan succeeded in expelling them via hardship and trickery" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 318). ⁷¹ "With the arrival of Tugril Baig Seljukids in Azerbaijan in 446 AH, the independence of the Rawadian came to an end. But Wahsudan obeyed Tugrul in friendship, and his Emirate in Azerbaijan -which at that time included Eran -Qaderi- was also left to him. A few years later, his son Abu Nasr Mamalan Ibn-e Wahsodan-e Kurdi was appointed as the replacement of the father under the decree of Tugril in 550 AH. Thus, the descendants of the Kurds did not lose their local power by showind obeyance to the Seljuqs. It was only only with the dismissal of Mamlan by Alb Arsalan 1071/465", the descendants of al-Awadān in Azerbaijan were expelled from the scene of history. However, a branch of the Kurds in the name of Shadadian remained in power in the province of Aran. Since then, in the

events of Azerbaijan, the descendants of Rrawadian have never had a significant independent role, and the family of the Ahmadilan of Maraghe, who, the Kurdish Rawadian belonged to, only became well-known long time later" (Zarinkob, ibid: 319). Ibn-e al-Asir has called Abu Mansur of Wahsodan, the son of Mamlanas the Kurdish Rawdi and the king of Azarbaigan and Eran (Ibn al-Asir, events of the years 420, cited in Kasravi: 153). Mamlan has had wars with the Romans. Therefore, Qatran praised Mamlan and Abu Hassan Shedadi:

One gets several times more than what mamlan had, and one gets as much as Fazlon had.

Qatran, who was the poet of their court, considered Mamlan's origion to be non-Arab, "because I am descended from Ajam ...". But Kasravi considers the Ajami origion of Mamlan as incorrect and he was sure he has been Arab (Kasravi, ibid: 155). When Ghazans came to Azerbaijan - s Ibn-e Asir says- Amir Wahsodan-e Kurdi was the king of Azerbaigan. Ghazan looted Azerbaiganm in 429, they attacked Maragha and killed a large number of Hazabani Kurd and they did so in Kurdistan and Armanistan (Ibn-e Asir, events of 420s, cited in Kasravi: 168). After their defeat in 430 AH, they went to Mosul and they fought against Kurds and killed many Kurds and took control of their women and properties and dispatched Kurds to the mountains "(Ibn-e Asir, cited in Kasravi: 170). Ghazans also killed many in Diyarbakir, Mosul and the Jizira (Kurduen-Qaderi) ... after their defeat from the Kurds of Mosul, they returned to Azerbaigan" (Ibn-e Asir, the events of the years 420).

After the domination of the Seljukides and the decline of the Rawdians, the name of a native ruler called Ahmadiyalān was mentioned for the first time in 501 AH. Ibn-e Asir states the name of Amir Ahmadil, who is the ancestor of Ahmadilian, he calls him the Lord of Maragheh. Ibn Asir knows Ahmadil, son of Abraham, son of Wahsodan i.e. a Rawadian Kurd as one of the survivors of the Rawdians (Ibn-e Asir, the events of the years 510). Ahmadil was killed by

the Fadaians in 510 (Ibn-e Asir, *ibid*). Ala'addin Kirpa Arsalan was one of the most famous rulers of his time and descendant of Ahmadil whom Nizami-ye Ganjawi wrote Bahram Nama in his name (Kasravi, *ibid*: 206). Rawandi, who lived at the time as Ala'addin, has praised his good judgements and he has considered him as the Lord of Maraghe (Kasravi, *ibid*: 208). After finishing Bahram Nama in 594 AH, he sent it to Roin Dej for Ala al-Din.

Not because of hunger, indebted I am
even without Deram

Dej (fortress) is Roin (strong)

Zarin Neil which is the center of the earth
of his strength

His Roin Dej's name is because

(Bahram Nama-ye
Ganjavi)

The Ahmadilians, who were the remnants of the Rawadians, survived until the Mongols invasion in the first half of the 7th century near Maraghe (Ra'isNia, 1380: 46). According to Ibn-e Asir, the last ruler of Ahmadilians in Roin Dej - was killed in 618 AH at the hands of the Mongols (Kasravi, *ibid*: 213). According to Ibn-e Asir, the Lord of Maraghe was a woman in Roin Dej (*ibid*). The advance of the Turks in Maraghe in 1029 destroyed a large number of Kurds from Hazabani tribe. Furthermore, many of the Kurds from Abu al Haija's territory were killed in Urmia. (Lazarov, 1930, translated into Kurdish by Sangawi, 2101: 74). Mongols in Syria and Azerbaijan killed whosoever Kurds they encountered. The invasion of Turks was following the Seljuqids's assault on the Kurds' lands. In 1101 BC, the Seljukids killed nearly 2,000 Kurds (*ibid*: 76).

Shadadian:

With the arrival of Tugril Baig, the independence of the Rawadians, and with assault of "Alb-Arsalan"-1071/465- the Rawadians, in general, disappeared from the scene of history in Azerbaijan. However, a branch of these Kurds called Shadadians still remained in power (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 319). Based on Arab and Armenian historians: "Mohammad bin Shaddad was the leader of Hazbaniye tribesmen and Rawadian Kurds whose tribal people were living in Aran province and the districts of Baku, Ganja, Darband and Barde'a" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 320). Shadadians were from Hazbani Kurds (Kasravi, *ibid*: 219) and Hazbanians were from Kharijites (Masoudi, cited in Kasravi, *ibid*: 559). Shadadians were Kurds and their location were Ardebil and Ganja, their ruling lasted from 340 to 468 AD, for 128 years. (Minorsky, 1953, in trans by Khadem, 1387/2008:11).

Sadiadans are divided into two groups: "A group has ruled in Aran, and another one in Ani and Armenia, among the historians only Monajimbashi has written the name of Aran Shadadians" (Kasravi, *ibid*: 219). Kasravi writes that Ibn-e Asir has considered Kurdish Fazlon -Shedadian- as the ruler of a part of Azerbaijan (Ibn-e Asir, the events of the year 421, cited in Kasravi, *ibid*), and he has not recognized the race and descent of Fazlon, and he has not known that he was the ruler of all Arans and a large part of Armenia (Kasravi, *ibid*: 220). These words of Kasravi are not accurate since Ibn-e Asir has introduced Aran as a part of Azerbaijan in the chapter on stating wars (Ghazve) of Kurdish Fazlon (Ra'sNijah, *ibid*: 80). Shadian controlled Aran until the Seljukians period, and their survivors ruled over Ani in Armenia for more than a hundred years (Kasravi, *ibid*: 225).

The sons of Mohammad bin-e Shadad, Abu al Hassan Ali Lashkari and Marzban ibn-e Mohammad regained the estates of Ibn-e Shadad in Eran and obtained it from the Salarians in 360 AH. Shadian domination on Ganja was done by another one of their brothers, Fazlon Ibn-e Mohammad, with the support of Kurds in the region. With the occupation of Aran, he ruled for 48 years and did constructions and built the bridges over the Aras . . . After him, the time of

his descendant, the second Lashkari -Abu al Hassan al Ali- was coincided with the invasion of Azerbaijan and Aran by Ghaz Turkmen" (Zarinkob, ibid: 321332). This family dominated not only all over Aran, but also ruled on Dowin of Armenia. Monajimbashi writes: "The people were very pleased with him, (Kasravi, ibid: 234). Shadadians gripped Shervan from the hands of Mosaferians in 395 AH and ruled over Aran - the border between the Khor and the Aras" (Minorsky, ibid: 145). Bardea have been attracted to the power realm of Shadadians most of the time and in 1063/455 Abu al Asvar Ganjavi attacked Shervan three times and the local Kurds welcomed him warmly. In 1065/457, the Kurds of Masqat were threatened and the name of Fazl ibn-e Sayar was read in Prayer sermons in Bab in 1069/461 (Minorsky, ibid: 146). In 458 AH, Shervan and its inhabitants were still Kurds.

In this year, 458 AH and ... -Turks broke into Shervan and plundered the Kurds' houses (Monajembashi, cited in Bab al-Abvab and in Minorsky, 1958,: 63). With the prevalence of Tugrul and Alb Arsalan, the local independence of this clan ended in 446 AH. Ibn Asir writes: "Sultan Malkshahh too took towns from Fazlon and gave it to the guardian of Sarhang Savtakin Khadim. Fazlon returned to his land, became powerful and then rioted. Sultan sent Amir Bozan to fight with him, arrested him and gave his land to others. Fazlon died in poverty in a mosque next to the Tigris River in Baghdad in 484 (Ibn-e Asir, cited in Kasravi, ibid: 258). The name of this Kurdish dynasty was deleted in history till Salahadin became famous (Zarinkob, ibid: 332).

Beides, the historians have also known the lords of Oromid, Sadgha ibn-e Ali ibn-e Sadgha, who, according to Blazori, became disobedient and rebellion at the time of Haroon al Rashid as kurds (Kasravi, the same, 139). "Ma'mon sent Zariqa, Sediqe's sibling to fight Khoramdinan, Sediqe did not go Then, Zariqa dispatched to Mosul. Ma'moun was irritated. He selected Mohammad ibn-e Hamid-e Tusi as the provincial governor of Azerbaigan and sent him to

fight Zeriqa, he arrested him and sent him to Baghdad, after which there was no news about him" (Kasravi, *ibid*: 140).

Thus, the land of Minor Mede has always belonged to Kurd from the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AH coinciding with the invasion of the Turks/Mongols. With the arrival of the uninvited guests of the Aqos, Turks, Monguls, Aqqovinlus, Qaraqovinlus, and Turkmens Qizilbashi Turkmens, the demographic/linguistic structure of that region turned from Kurdish to Turkish and Azeri. After the Seljuks, Monguls and Timurid invaders, who challenged the population and the language of Kurds, it was the turn of other Turkish tribes. "The two Turkish tribes of Qarqovinlu and Aqqovinlu migrated from Turkestan to Azerbaijan in the late 13th century. Aqqovinlu settled in the districts of Diyarbakir and Qaraqovinlu in Erzincan" (Hinz, 1936, in trans by Jahandari, 1361/1982: 32). Ozon Hassan had some skirmishes with Kurdish rulers in the east and after victory over the Qaraqovinlu in 1467, he made Kurdish tribesmen obeyed (Hinz, *ibid*: 57). Alexander, the son of Qarayosuf, raided in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan after defeating Shahrokh in 1421 BC, and he had great political successes in Kurdistan. In 830/1427, he defeated Sultan Ahmad, the Prince of Kurd (Savory, 1925, in trans by Azizi, 1382/2003: 36). "After the downfall of the Aqqovinlus, the Kurds temporarily regained their independence until they were once again suppressed by the Shah Isma'il with the help of the Turkmens of both tribes of Aqqovinlus and Qaraqovinlus" (Hinz, *ibid*: 57). Safavids followed Ozon Hassan's policy in dealing with Kurds who put Qezelbashans in place of the Kurds rulers (Lazarov, *ibid*: 143). Shah Isma'il also proceeded to carry out a series of military campaigns in 911 AH after strengthening its position in central Iran seeking security along the western borders with Kurdistan and Diyarbakir and he depilated the army of "Shir Sarem-e Kurd", he followed Shir Sarem and there occurred a hard fighting with the Kurds and lots were killed from both sides; finally, Shir Sarem's son and his brother were captured and murdered (Savory, *ibid*: 84). Safavids were following the policy of killing Kurds and they

killed three great Amirs (commanders) of the Kurds and 400 people of Dombalian in one day under the command of Shah Tahmaseb (Lazarov, ibid: 144).

Shah Isma'il jailed 11 Kurdish Amirs (commanders) (Lazarov, ibid: 131). "Shah Abbas launched a slaughterhouse of blood in Mokeryan after obtaining Damdam castle ... they killed everyone who was at their hands and did not have any mercy on any Kurd "(ibid: 151). Shah Isma'il tried three times to make Jizira and Emir of Botan his tributary or taxpayer, but it was in vain. Isma'il repeatedly sent his troops to eradicate Mukryans and remove its people, but they did not succeed (Lazarov, ibid: 155). "The largest movement of that century leading by "Mir Suleiman-e Bah Bah" was against Turkey and Iran - the 17th century, but in 1699, Qezelbashan defeated them After defeating Mir (the ruler) of Babaan, the commander of the Iranian soldiers commanded to kill all the inhabitants of Kurdistan-e Ardalan ... made a minaret of bones ... because the rulers of Ardalan were with "Suleiman-e Bah Bah"" (Muhammad Sharif Qachi, the historian of Ardalan, cited in Lazarov, ibid:158). "In the 17th century, there were a lot of hostilities between kurds and Fars ... The Belbas tribe, who were not obedient, also rebelled in Azerbaijan. In 1715, Kurds revolted in Iran In 1744, the Dombali tribe revolted in Salmas ... Azerbaijanids backed them ... this riot was ruthlessly repressed at Nader's time ... Abdul Rahman-e Baban who rebelled at the time of Mohammad Khan-e Qajar ... said that he liked to liberate Kurdistan from under the Turkish and Iranian domination" (Lazarov, ibid: 159). During the reign of Shah Abbas, the rebel of Qal'eh-e (castle of) Dam Dam by Amir Khan Bradost was crushed and all were Massacred after nearly a year of siege and war (Zeki, ibid: 142). "Both Ottomans and Safavids also displaced kurds; Shah Abbas transferred about 15 thousand Kurds to Khorasan in 1612... Nadir Shah also transferred them from Khorasan to Mashhad" (Lazarov, ibid: 150). Thus, the invasion of the Oghozes was a never-ending event of Turks migration into the land of Minor Mede, Azerbaijan (and Kurdistan) and it was

also the beginning of the end of the Kurdish existence in that territory, which does not mean that the Kurds would make a claim about the present-day inhabited homeland of Turks. By the way, the residents of that place are now Turks and it is the land of the Turks. However, we intended to provide evidence that the history of that land is a part of the history of Kurds and ... before the invasion of Turks in 11th century BC.

Conclusion

As we mentioned, Azarbaijan or minor mede was always Kurdish Land and their inhabitants were Kurds before the invasion of Turkish tribes. Moreover, the name of Azarpatekan had no ethnic/racial connotation but it referred to a person name. The land of Kurdistan and Kurdish people has always been reducing as a result of the incursion of Turks, Arab and Iranian/Persian dynasties. The reduction of Kurdistan was not limited to Azerbaijan but others cities such as Mussel and Hamadan through Arab and Persian respectively. In the era of the modern nation-state, it happens too. The occupiers of Kurdistan tried to deKurdishize and Arabize, Turkify and Iranianize it. They know that they cannot assimilate the Kurds with the ideologies such as religions and nationalism, as in the pre-modern era Islam and Zoroastrianism were not able to assimilate them, therefore, they have tried to destruct the Kurdish population. To annihilate Kurd, they attack their languages and their symbolic or cultural memory. They not only destroy and dominate Kurds but also, want to produce new people who would not be Kurds anymore. Politics is the Capture of lands and technology of the Kurdish body. however, they cannot kill all of them or displaced them, therefore, they need to work or manipulate the Kurdish memory or destroy Kurdish language to control the Kurdish body to own Kurdish territory. As a result, all their ideas from Great Iran to Islam and neo-ottoman are their ideology and hegemonic toll of control of Kurdish body to preserve their dominance and

invasion of Kurdistan. To maintain the occupation of Kurdistan, they need to tame the body of the Kurds. To do that on the one hand, they do not doubt repression and carnage, on the other hand, they need the solidarity and assimilation of the Kurdish people and to assimilate the Kurds, they have falsified history and confiscated Kurdish history and culture to destroy historical and symbolical memory of Kurds. For example: |the fake concept of Iran that Kurdistan has been reduced to a part of it and Kurdish are Iranian original, and Mountain Turks that considers the Kurds to be Turks, are same, because they reduce differences to a historical process in which Kurds are pre-modern Persia and Turk. As a result, the process of modernizing them is equal to the process of Persianizing and Turkifying them.

Turks and Iranian/Persian people were immigrants and lack of land and geography, therefore, after occupied the land of Kurdistan they needed to legitimize their occupation and delegitimize Kurdish Resistance against themselves. Hence, they changed political legitimacy from agreement, and social contract to metaphysical and religious legitimacy because they lacked popular legitimacy. For this reason, the Kurds in their religions and literature were nicknamed infidels, jinns and devils in order to find the legitimacy of killing and dominating them. Also, because they had become the superior ethnicities through military domination, as a result of looting and plunder, they also became the superior class and aristocrat. Empires and bureaucracies were their militaries and administrative tools for maintaining domination, just as religion was its hegemonic tool. This is the answer to the question of why the Iranians and the Arabs and the Turks were religious and metaphysical rulers, and the Kurdish movements were communist and anti-religious, such as the Mazdakians and the Khorramdins to today's movements. And if today they still tend towards centralism and religious legitimacy and the Kurds are secular and Marxist movements, as we mentioned is the main issue of the land they have occupied and the Kurds are seeking to liberate their land. Therefore, the main

issue is the ethnic conflict between the mono-ethnic states and the stateless Kurdish people, which for the reasons mentioned, also takes on the aspect of class and intellectual conflict.

Mede, Pars: Interaction or Conflict?

Abstract:

The purpose of this article is to critique the ruling view which considers the Achaemenid government as the joint government of Mad and Pars. Iranian empire was not an ally of the Median state, and it was not essentially formed except through the rejection of the Medes. Iranian empire was a Persian-oriented system that developed only in opposition to the Medes. I have challenged common but baseless theories of the shared domination of Mede and Pars and the satisfaction of the Medes from the domination of Pars with the help of valid sources.

The basis of the Iranian government has been the tool of ethnic domination of Pars on Mede. The Achaemenids/Persian Empire was formed through the military defeat, suppression, and marginalization of the Median empire. Even the Iranian symbols and works such as Persepolis and the inscription of Bistoun are reminiscent of their victories over the Mede. Furthermore, the Persian language did not come into existence through internal evolution, but Darius overnight ordered Elamite and Babylonian scribes to write it on the inscription of Bistun to preserve the memory of the victory of the Persians on the Medes. Mede and their rituals were entitled as Ahriman, Daoi Mazina, Div, Ajidahak/Zahak, Afrasiab, and Turanians, and the alien agent in Iranian mythology and culture. The controversy over totem symbols like bull and lion, and snake and eagle is the abstraction of the ethnic struggles of Persians and Medians.

Introduction

Why was Cyrus called the Savior, the Christ, the Father and the Lawmaker in the mythology and religious culture of the Aryans/Semitic and Greek societies, but the Medes and the Astiags as the Ajidahak, the Ahriman, the Seed (Tuxme)

of Tiamat, the Unwise, and ...? Why were the Medes driven to the fringes of history, and the Persians entered the corridors of history? To answer these questions, we should reach the zero point of the history in which Kurds (Mede/Guti) were badged as Ahriman, Evil and Violent, and Iranians as goodness and wisdom of Ahurai. The zero Point in which the boundary between wisdom and debauchery, Ahura (God) and Ahriman (Devil), goodness and evil, Logos and Eros, and others, have been constructed and so separated from each other that they have interrupted the path of any exchange. It was the time when the violent crackdown of the Kurds through their devious repulse actualized and became permanent in the governance of truth.

We will discuss the reaction and the way of the Iranians/Persians interaction with the Kurds (the Medes) during the rule of Achaemenids before Darius. Further, we will state that the basis of the formation of both mental dimensions (religious myths) and objective (social/political structure) of the Iranian political intellect has become significant in contrast to the Median/Mithraism identity. The political/social dimension of Iranian rationality with the central signifier of Farah Izadi and the components of the celestial legitimacy/divine right, hierarchical/class justice (Plato), Religious/metaphysical culture, has been developed based on the negation and the other-making of the Medes, with components of primitive democracy, terrestrial legitimacy/social contract, equality/shared justice. First of all, we will criticize and reject the routine and unfounded views of the peaceful transfer of power from Mede to Pars, the shared domination of Mede and Pars, the kinship of the Medes and Persians through the presentation of a brief history of the Medes, on the one hand, and, we will try to prove that the basis of the Achaemenid/Iranian empire was socially/politically and ritually/religiously established on the negation of the Medes and in against them.

1-Mede, Pars: Interaction or Conflict

The history of the Medes

If we accept Herodotus' account of the hierarchy of the Median kings, the history of the first kingdom of Mede began in the year 700 AC which is simultaneous with the peak of the Assyrian military power at the time of Sargon (720-705) in the north and in the central Zagros (Brown, 1988: 111). According to Herodotus, Diako is the true founder of the Mede Government (Herodotus, 2008: 77) who was elected as ruler and arbitrator for the resolution of disputes and the administration of justice following the agreement of the tribal Median/Mannaian chiefs. In 715, he was exiled probably due to the failure to pay tribute or rebellion along with a new assault of Assyrians on Homs in Syria (Zarinkob, 1368/1989: 89). In 709, he returned to Mede and again became a ruler after fleeing from exile, or after the Assyrians' own agreement, or to obtain a tribute from the Medians systematically under the leadership of Diako, or to unite the Medes against the Uratiens or the newly arrived Iranians. His 53-year rule (Herodotus, 1987, in trans by Mazandarani, 1384/2005: 79) came to an end in 678 (Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/ 2009: 320). In 678, the Median "Keshterita" who is the same "Ferartes" of Herodotus in the Assyrian sources (Bivar, 2005: 342), the successor to Diako, aroused (Asarhadoon's) concern in the Assyrian borders (Zarinkob, ibid: 89). Assyrian resources do not say anything regarding the result of the war and the fate of Keshterita. Perhaps contrary to Herodotus, who considered the Scythians invasion in the period of Howakhshatra , it was in Keshterita's time that he was defeated by the Scythians (Grishman, 1976, in trans by Mo'in, 1388/2009: 99). After 28 years of rule of the Scythians -625- 653 BC- , Howakhshatra -in the words of Herodotus- reunified the Medes with the killing of the Scythians. Probably Keshterita died in 650 and Howakhshatra became the ruler about 622 and after 28 years of rule of the Scythians. He

conquered Assyrians in 612 and died in 585. After Howakhshatra, Astiag sat on the throne. He was attacked by the Iranians in the year 554 under the leadership of Cyrus and his allies, Babylonians and Armenians, and then he was defeated after four years of resistance and the Medes came under the control of the Persians. It should be noted that we will continue to consider that this is the official narrative of Herodotus, which has been seriously skeptical since the discovery of the Assyrian and Babylonian resources, as there are no indications that in the Assyrian and Babylonian sources about the number of Mede kings or about all of their kings being under a superior ruler or single king of the kings.

The sunrise of the Achaemenid Persians and the sunset of the Kurdish Medians

There are various views about the relationship between Mede and Pars, the ways to change the monarchy and the subsequent relationship of the Medes with the Persians in the Achaemenid Empire and . . . Some scholars have considered Medes and Persians as relatives, and the transfer of superiority from Mede to Pars as a simple change of monarchy with the consent of the Medians themselves. In contrast, some other scholars have regarded it not as the simple transfer of monarchy, but as looting the Medes and making them slaves in the true sense (Aliev, ibid: 415) which transcended a major change in the dynasty of the kingdom, and it meant a geographical power transmission with all the political and moral consequences (Champdor, 1952: 82).

Peaceful transfer of power or conquering and plundering Media:

Unlike the common narratives, Cyrus/Achaemenids overcame Medes neither through peace nor via the Medes' appeal but through long and hard wars with the

hard struggle from beside the Medes, and overcoming Mede turned into such an important event in the emerging history of Pars, which became the main subject of the Persian/Iranian mythology, and Cyrus was abstracted from a historical personality into a mythical and symbolic one, as the Medes and Astiagh became the unpopular other of Iranian myths.

Cyrus used to collaborate with Nabonyd to eliminate Median political domination. "In order to prevent the attack of Astiag on Cyrus realm, Nabonid carried out some military operations around Haran region to make Medes busy. His action prevented Astiag from swiftly trying to punish Cyrus and suppress his rebellion" (Zarinkob, ibid: 105-106). Nabonid attracted the Median army to Babylon and prevented the concentration of Medes' Corps to repel Cyrus. Kourosh had not made Nabondon do this merely through political relations, he had already contacted the Babylonian priests who were full of anger with Nabonid (Cook, ibid: 66). In Nabonid dream, the god of Sin provoked Nabonid to capture the temple of Haran which was under the control of the Medes, and he called the Medes as "Oman Manda" and called Cyrus tas he Savior, and Christ and Meredok, who would soon sweep away "mighty" armies of "Oman Mande". Cyrus propagandists, as some historians pointed out, had contacted the Babylonian priests and the Jewish Isaia, who was unknown at that time, and the Eastern priests, including Zeroaster the Prophet (s) in order to represent Cyrus as the guardian , and the Medes and Astiag as hatredess and Ajidahak in substitutes for Cyrus' promises and vows. The result of Cyrus propaganda was that the Medes and Astyagh became known as Oman Mande the seeds of the Timothy in Armenia, in the narration of Moses Khorni, as in the Ajidahak and Dragon, and in the Zoroastrianism in the mythology of the eastern part of Iran, as Ajidahak Zahak/and Ahriman, and In Judaism as Jins and devils. Therefore, the collaboration of the three Iranian/Aryan civilizations, Semitic/Mesopotamia, Jewish and Armenian, led to the destruction of the Medes. The cooperation of these three civilizations to destroy Media can not be purely due to political

reasons; that is, Media had a peace treaty with Babylon, Leeds and Urartu, and ... they had preserved their own kingdom and freedom within the framework of the Median ruling. This was an important event in history and it is the discontinuity of metaphysical history with the earthly identity of the Medes that we will return to it later. This triple partnership of the three metaphysical civilizations also led to the defeat of subsequent Kurdish movements, including Khoradinans.

Many years before military action against Mede, Cyrus had begun a massive propaganda campaign against the Medes and to his own benefits in all areas. The influence of Cyrus propaganda influenced even among the Medes themselves, the Maguses and the Median nobles. According to Etiaos and Dion, he read this poetry before Astiag on the festival night when Cyrus had returned to Persia: "A lion who hunted a boar and let it go ... the boar destroyed the lion Astiag found the boar to be Cyrus and ..." (Shahbazi, 1350/1971: 86). The result of Cyrus's propaganda in Media was that via his promises -the promises that he acted upon and the nobles and Maguses formed the basis of the rule and foundations of the Achaemenid empire-, he mobilized aristocrats like Harpag and Maguses against Astiag and in his own favour. That is why Astiag killed the ruthless nobles and the Maguses (Herodotus, 1987: 101).

After Astiag's awareness of the Cyrus' plot, Astiag called Cyrus up. Cyrus replied: "tell Astiag that I will come to him sooner than he has asked for it". After hearing the message, Asatiag armed his people and his followers immediately (Herodoust, ibid: 101). Herodotus knew the reason for Persians' uprising in that they were under pressure and they were burning in their quest for Medes wealth (Briant, 2002: 23; Herodotus, ibid: 100). Later, we will come back to the reasons behind the rebellion (a plan for the state theory ...), now we will survey on the way of the Pars rebellion and the median defeat.

Conquest of the Medes was not the Medes' demand, but a three-year war with the corporation of Babylon, Arman, Jews and Bacteria. Herodotus regarded

conquest of the Medes as their own demand and made the issue simple, while in Babylonian texts, the final battle and the capture of Ecbatana were the last apparent episode that lasted at least three years. Ancient writers such as Katsias, Yustinas and Nikolai Damashqi and Polyanus have described a hard struggle between Medea and Cyrus ... Polylonus wrote: "Cyrus fought with Media three times and he failed all three times..., even after the the initiative defeats of the Pars, many Persians joined Media" (Briant, *ibid*: 49). If the Medes offered the government to Cyrus, why did they spend three years in state of war with him? Cyrus attacked Pasargad Median fortress, which meant protecting the Persian bandits and thugs. After defeating for three times, while retreating, the women of Persia raised their skirts and said: "Where do you retreat to from where you came from?". According to the Persian tradition, each time the Achaemenid king arrived in Pasargadae, he would give each Persian woman a coin in return for their previous behavior, even Alexander did it (Hinz, *ibid*: 94-95).

Cyrus' triumph over Media was neither accident, nor fortune, nor the betrayal of the close associates of Ayshtuogue (Briant, *ibid*: 32) but it was a predetermined plan that had accompanied a bloody war for three years. Men and women, children and the old defended Astiagh against Cyrus; however, medes were defeated (Herodotus, *ibid*: 101). As many historians have pointed out, the occupation of Mede by Pars was the conquest and hegemony of it in the true sense and not just changing the ruling dynesty (Aliev, *ibid*: 415). Nabunid calender which -as Olmsted says - is Cyrus's propaganda program and is well in line with Cyrus propaganda and his ruling tells about the looting of Ecbatana by Cyrus (Gershevitch (ed), 1985: 644). Astiag was hidden after the defeat in Ecbatana. Cyrus ordered to torture his daughter and children, and Astiagh handed himself in for rescuing her relatives from torture (Ctesias, cited in Diakonoff, *ibid*: 390). "Ecbatana was looted; the Medes were enslaved and taxes were laid down on them, but Cyrus also made compromising measures to make peace with the Medes, he called himself the king of the Medes Gradually, the elders of

Mede were removed at the time of Darius and Xeshayar or Xexser and even the false appearances of the unity of the two kingdoms of Mede and Pars were not observed after Darius the first. Persians took Ekbatan and enslaved the people of that city" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 391; Dandamayev, 1963: 137). Herodotus also admits that "the Medes suffered from the enslavement of the Persians" (Herodotus, cited in Aliev, *ibid*: 422). The inscription of Apadana in Persepolis also depicted the Medes as the pledger (taxpayers) of Pars (A. A. Diakonoff, *ibid*: 79). Although he apparently left Mede as a monarchy, Cyrus specified ransom on it and appointed a Satrap for it (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 176) while according to Herodotus-the Persians were exempted from taxes (Herodotus, cited in Cook, *ibid*: 86).

Therefore, the routine theory of Medes supporting Cyrus and the submission of sovereignty to him is nothing but Cyrus' propaganda and an Iranian legendary narrative. The majority of the people of Mede, along with the Astiag, including the old and the young defended Median existence against Cyrus during three years (Herodotus, *ibid*: 101), and after three years of fierce war, they failed in the war as the result of the intervention of Armenians, Babylonians and Bacteria. After that, the Persian yoke over Medes was so heavy that brought up many massive insurrections against the Persian domination during the time of Ferawartish and Guamata.

The common domination of Mede and Pars or domination of Pars on Mede?

Pierre Briant correctly questions the illusion of a common domination of Mede/Pars: "If we speak of the shared authority of Mede-Pars, we have gone a wrong way. All the ancient writers wrote of glorified Cyrus because he took the superiority from the Medes and transmitted it to the Persian. The importance of the Median inheritance must be evaluated with caution in the administrative organization of Cyrus The influence of the Ilamites on the Persians is

inextricably deeper The name of the Mede changed into Kheshterpawninhabitant (Marzban, Qaderi) and, unlike the Persians, Medes had to pay taxes like all other Kheshterpawns, there has not been confirmed the existence of any

Kheshterpawn whose residence would have been Mede" (Briant, *ibid*: 125) and "military commanders of the Medes (which, like today's Kermanshahi people, were merely used in military posts by Persians, Qaderi) were to cooperate with the Persian commanders and ..." (Briant, *ibid*: 126). Kheshterpawns of Cyrus and Cambyses have risen up from the Persian families without exception (*ibid*).

"Along with the uprising of the Median Gaumata, the "the dying King, Cambyses" summoned the most prominent men on to his bedside, in order to make them not allow the Medes to achieve superiority again" (Briant, *ibid*: 126). This last will of Cambyses in regaining power from the Medes -along with Guamata uprising- would show the monopoly of power in the hands of the Persians and the marginalization of the Medes. If the Achaemenids dynasty was the shared domination of the Medes and Persians, neither the Medes would revolt again to revive lost power under the leadership of Guamata, Frewartish and Chisertokhma, nor Cambyses would cry up for the loss of power. Cambyses has not referred to the revival of the shared dominance, but explicitly referred to regaining Persian power from the Medes, that is, before the Gaumata uprising, the power and domination was in the monopoly of the Persians led by Cyrus and Cambyses.

The unity of the Medes and the Pars is not more than an illusion. "The apparent absence of the Medes and other tribes in today's important positions has been accepted, and the view that the Medes and Persians are united and turned into a single ethnic group is seriously questionable" (Cook, cited in Gershevitch, *ibid*: 232). There are many reasons that Spatnys, arrowholder of Darius I, who has come to be Median, is from a Persian family (Cook, *ibid*: 333). Persians used the clothes style of the Medes because the Parsian have been

carved with Medes' clothes types. The illusion of the participation of the Medes in the Persian empire was constructed. "Apart from Harpag, which was the exception due to being in the service of Cyrus and the betrayal of the Medes in Achaemenid, all the other Achaemenid satraps were Persian. The fifteen officers of Darius were all from Pars and also forty high-ranking officers were Persians. The Achaemenid rule turned into a family affair that they used close relatives" (Cook, *ibid*: 334). In the new empire ... (Persian) there were an ethnically and socially superior group present and local dignitaries were only the hand of this group. We call this group dominant tribe/class and the representatives of Persian aristocratic families formed most members of this tribe/class. Even the royal judges were Persians" (Briant, *ibid*: 127-126). The combination of the highranking staff of the imperial kingdom clearly shows that the whole of the great aristocratic families that gathered around the Achaemenid dynasties and the cultural traditions of the people of Pars ruled over the kingdom" (Briant, *ibid*: 553). Gradually, the elders of Mede were removed at the time of Darius and Xerxes, and even the false appearances of the unity of the two kingdoms of Media and Persia were not followed after Darius the first" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 390). How many Median nobles have joined the Persian for personal gain is not a convincing reason for the partnership and the convergence of Mede and Pars. The aristocracy considered personal interests andthey always followed the owner of the property and, as Polyanus also said, at the time of the first defeats of Cyrus from Astiag, many Persians joined the Medes (Briant, *ibid*: 49) which definitely does not give a reason for accepting the domination of the Medes and having friendship with them. Iranian aristocrats accepted Alexander's ruling in Babylon and Egypt and participated in the Alexanderian system. At the time of the assault of Arabs, Mongols and Seljukids, the Iranian nobles and clerics also participated in their system and obeyed them. Therefore, if the participation of some noblemen and clerics is a reason for the corelgious and kinship and the

legitimacy of the rulers' domination, we must inevitably accept the kinship and legitimacy of the domination of the Arabs, Turks and Mongols in Iran.

Negation of the Medes and Persians Kinship:

We have already said that the Medes are aboriginal inhabitants who lived in Zagros mountains from the 3,000 years BC. But Persians/Iranians are Aryan immigrants gradually arriving in the plateau later named Iran in the first millennium BC. There are doubts about the word "Parsova" used in the Assyrian inscriptions along with the Mede term that the Persians and the Medes were together and are related to each other. In the following, we will attempt to react to these doubts.

Some scholars considered the names of Parsova in the land of Mede and mentioned in the Shalmanasar III inscription in 846 AH as to be adaptable to Persian ethnic group and they have proposed the idea of Persian migration from the Caucasus and the Median to Pars. The logical consequence of this claim is the belief in the existence of two Persian families in Anshan and Pars and the separation of Anshan and Pars from each other. However, some other researchers correctly do not associate Parsova with Pars, nor do they accept the hypothesis of the separation of Anshan from Persia and the two Persian families to be true. The Parsians came to Persia not from the Caucasus way, but from Turkestan and the East (Cook, 1983, in trans by Saqibfar, 1389/2010: 22). According to the hypothesis of Kiepert and Tomash, Persian came from Kerman and the east to the current Fars, and the similarity of the Persian language with Parth and Sughdis confirms this (Cook, *ibid*: 22). As we said, the hypothesis of Persian immigration from the Caucasus and Mede is based on the hypothesis of the separation of Anshan from Persia and the existence of two Persian dynastic families, both of which have been questioned. Anshans is thirty miles away from

Shiraz in the heart of Pars and the theory of two dynasties' ruling is not acceptable (Cook, *ibid*: 247) where Persians built blossoming Pars from the dried land of Anshan (Hinz, 1936: 56). Anshan was in Pars (Wiesehofer, 1978: 28). The names of Anshan and Pars are used to talk about the same conception, as Oman Manda and Madia are utilized in one sense (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 321).

The title of Shah-e (the king of) Anshan in the Babylonian inscriptions and Shah-e Parsawash of Assyria, both belong to one person and one land, and this Parswa is not Median; since it is not used in reference to the name of Shah, but both refers to the south of Iran, that is, Pars (Herzfeld, 1936: 54). According to the Nabounid's calender, Cyrus took the entire treasury to Anshan after the conquest of Ecbatan and this is the same treasury that is in Pasargadae. Ctesias and the Damascus Nicolai have also used Pazaragad for Anshan; therefore, Anshan and Pasargad are both the same area (Herzfeld, *ibid*: 55-56). The names of Anshan and Parsawash are two names of one region, and Winkler's theory which gave two names to two lands is wrong. The racial name of the Parsa was given to the land that was called Anshan before the Aryan invasion (Herzfeld, *ibid*: 57). Therefore, Anshan and Pars are both names of the same land in Pars and it is different from Anshan in Ilam. Thus, the Parsian migration from Median Parsova to Anshan and then to Pars is baseless.

Another hypothesis about the Parsian migration from Mede is the naming of Parsova in the inscription of Shlemaner III, which the defenders of this hypothesis find it consistent with the Pars ethnic group. Grishman, Hinz, Boyle and ... have accepted the Persians' immigration theory from Zagros to Anshan and then Pars, but Diakonoff have rejected it (Yamauchi, 1937, in trans by Pezeshk, 1390/2011: 66). The people of the Parsva state became thoroughly

Assyrian through time and Ptolemy called the aforementioned land as SyrianAssyrian-Median (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 157). Diakonoff claimed that the Akkadian word. i.e. Parsova and the word "Paraso" meant the line and the border

and side, and he considers Parsova as the Caspian language, and he considered that the only common feature of the term Parsava and Pars was that both meant border and side and there is no documents that Parsov was a Parsian homeland where they had emigrated from it afterwards. Parsova was an agricultural area whose inhabitants were settled down, assuming that its inhabitants abandoned their land and moved to Pars 600 kilometers away is baseless. "The names of persons and places in Parsova are not by any means Iranian" (Diakonoff, ibid: 155-156). Parsova was a part of the Assyria, and the Assyrian power was so much more robust that it could not have allowed the inhabitants of its captured and to emigrate (Ziapour, 1355/1976: 257). Parsa was separated from the main ethnic group in the east (Part and Bacteria ...) and went to Mesopotamia. The similarity between the Persian language and Khwarazmi has been confirmed, and The Persians were a branch of the Massageat Union along with the Khwarazmians and they did not go south. The difference between Pars and Part is the result of the difference between "S" and "T", and both are the names of the same people" (Frye, 1963: 79). There are linguistic similarities between ancient Persian and Sogdian language (Boyce, 1375/1996: 18). Thus, the Persians are not relative with the Medes and their encounter with the Medes were in the East, whose traces is evident in mythology which later we come to it in the following.

Parsova is different from Pars, and Cyrus II and the Achaemenids had no connection with Parsova (Frye, ibid: 114). The famous Tarn theory in adapting Khwarazmians to Persian Parsova tribes, and that "Elthaim" finding the term "Parsa" in some areas among the tribes of the eastern parts of Iran (Newly, n. d, in trans by Sayd Sajad, 1381/2002: 140-141) all refer to the kinship of Pars and Parth, and that Parsian migration is from the east, and from Khwarazm to Pars. The linguistic ²⁸ and epical similarities also proves this issue. One thing is clear and it is that the Persians have not reached Pars through the plains of Ilam and also Anshan is in Pars (Cook, ibid: 22). In addition to the language similarities acknowledged by many historians, the epic similarities and the central

Shah/Rohani (preist) system in both eastern Kianiān and the southwest Achaemenids signals Pars and Parth/Khwarazamian kinship. Later, along with the eastern myths becoming epic, the characters of Keykhosrow and Fereydoun of the eastern Persians were molded on Cyrus and the Ajidahak and Afrasiab on the Medes and Astiag. This sign indicates not only the linguistic/racial kinship of Pars with the Parthians and eastern Iranian, but also their religious/mythological parallelism and their common hostility with the Medes.²⁹ The hatred and hostility towards the Medes and their religion and culture was in such a certain extent -we will then talk about its reasons- that Cyrus not only united with Semitic Babylonians and Armenians against the Medes, but also Eastern Iranians underwent an agreements with Asyria against Mede. Ctesias and Diodorus Siclosus named the Bacteria who helped the Assyrians during the time of encircling Assyrians by the Medes; hence, it connotes their antagonism towards the growing power of the Median (Newly, *ibid*: 126) and Hyrcanians and Parthians also united with Pars in the battle against the Medes (Ctesias, cited in Gershevitch, *ibid*: 175).

Another argument, i.e. the hypothesis of the Parsian migration from the Mede and Median Parswa to Anshan and then Pars is the belief in the existence of the two kingdom Persian families, one in Anshan and the other in Pars. The hypothesis of the existence of two Persian royal families is not compatible with the absolute tyranny of the Persian kings and the monopoly of the empire; thus, it is quite baseless, and it is the construction of Darius's schemes to legitimize himself and to conceal himself being usurper. "The theory that Cyrus is the heir of Anshan and Ariaremane is the inheritor of Parsa, is unacceptable, because Anshan and Parsa are the names of a region" (Yamauchi, *ibid*: 69). "The theory of the existence of two simultaneous Achaemenid monarchies can not be defended. He intercepts recounting his ancestors with "Chesh Pesh" in his command in Babylon and does not mention Achaemenid" (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 130). Nilander proved that Ancient Persian writings in Pasargadae had been

carried out under the command of Darius, who introduced Cyrus as the king of Achaemenid (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 131). Two tablets discovered in Ecbatani under the names of "Arsham" and "Ariarman" and assumed to be the Darius ancestors have been known ancient forgeries. The two tablets were fake and there only existed one Achaemenid family, that is, Cyrus' ancestors, and Darius did not have any superiority over six other conspirors ..." (Cook, *ibid*: 247). This was also obvious in the horse story and numerous rebellions against Darius.³⁰ This means that if Darius had not had predetermined priority and legitimacy over the six other nobles, he would not have come from the royal family. When Daruis came to throne, Arsham and Wishtasp were still alive; however, there is no document of their rule in Pars.

Therefore, there did not exist any racial/linguistic, and even righteous/religious kinship between the Medes and the Persians, and the Persians migrated not to Mede, and not from Mede, but from the East to Persia, but also Persians basically defined themselves in contrast to the Medes" (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 13), there had been a harsh indignation between the Medes and the Persians (Widengren, 1968: 202). The basis of the Persian Empire was formed not only on the basis of the capture and looting and enslavement of the Medes, but also went too far so that Cyrus introduced the Medes as an unpopular, evil, dragon, etc conspiring with Zoroaster and the priests of other religions. They confiscated all the Median ceremonies and rites and gave them an Iranian content. They disarmed Medes not only in military aspect but also in terms of their national culture.

2- The social order of Iran in contrast to the social order of Kurd (Class justice in conflict with equality justice)

We have already said that the history of Kurd dates back to 3,000 BC in Zagros region and Kurdistan and various names have been given to the ethnic group of

Kurd. It was due to this fact that Kurds themselves did not have a comprehensive government, inscriptions and writing, were named under a special title by others each time, or whenever a Kurd tribe has dominated, they have termed the entire region in the name of that tribe. The names of Guti, Kurti, Karadak, Kordokhi, Kardvin, Caspi, Lolubi, Huri, Mehri, Maran, Mede and ... have all been the different names of a common people. In the Middle Ages, we encounter less the common name of Kurd, and more often the Kurdish tribes such as Shedadai, Rawadi, Ayoubi, Khoramdini, and ... during the Safavid period, the various names like Baban, Bedlis, Ardalani, etc., in contemporary Barzani, Talabani, Kurmanaj, Mokriyan and ... signified Kurds. As now the word of Kurd is used in general for all the Kurdish tribes, in the ancient times, the term Guti generally referred to Manna, Mede and ... (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 103).

First of all, we need to explain that when we interpret Kurds quest for identity as based on equality justice and anti-classism, it does not mean that there was no socials/class division and inequality among the Medes. It is natural that in all societies there is inequality and different classes. We mean what had hegemony among the Medes and political struggles were formed under its framework. That is, the Median state, did not rely on the aristocracy and hierarchy, but it relied on the general public against the nobility. Because of this, the aristocrats turned away from the Astiag.

Therefore, when we speak of the structure of equality and socialist justice in the median community against class justice and the hierarchy of the Persian community, we do not mean that the Median community was utopian and there was no injustice and inequality in it or, on the contrary, there did not exist equality and justice in the Persian community. More than this, our discussion is about the foundations and basis of these two societies/governments. "Georges Domjil" describes the class structure of Indian and Iranian Aryan communities as realized in their religious/mythological consciousness structure which is divided into three clerical, military and farmer classes in both the religious and

social forms. "Shaul Shackt" writes that the concept of social classes has a hierarchy in terms of religious knowledge. The survivor is obedient to the divine/religious order and the guilty person is the one who does not obey religious orders. In Zoroastrian religious knowledge, like the social classes (clerics, military, farmers, and the king at the top), people were also divided into three categories of Gahanik, Hadg, Dudig ... People, in Mezdayasnian religion, are divided into three classes: the Gahans who have more knowledge and Minowi action, Dad who have world knowledge and the act and Hedig Manseric who is in the middle of two previous ones. (Shackt, 1995, in trans by Saqibfar, 1381/2002: 20-25). We mean that there has been division of society into classes in reality in the Media; however, there have been two fundamental differences with the Persian society. Firstly, it has not taken a holy and value aspect in Media so that to be realized in its political and religious culture and also remain in the domination of the truth; secondly, the Median state was based not on the aristocratic classes but on the masses of the peasantries.

Gutian and Manaians:

Cason considered a bronze statue belonging to one of the Guti kings found in Hamadan and taken to the New York Gallery's Bremer Museum as having species of Zagros Kurds via anthropological comparison and the one on Sheikhan-Tadoni cliff is also the same. "The Azerbaijani "Emi Tip" in Shosheh region is in line with this statue and corresponds to the Zagros Mountainous people (Ziapour, ibid: 101).

In the 23rd century BC, Gutian defeated Akadians and their king "Naram-Soen" (Diakonoff, 1985, in trans by Keshavarz, 1379/2000: 107), and dominated Mesopotamia. "Ottokhgal", the king of Uruk, called Gutians" as mountain biting snakes and trespassors of "the gods" realm" in his inscription (Diakonoff, ibid:

108). Guthic kings are portrayed as the scary monsters in the myths. The tribes of Guitom have been introduced as wild and irrational who lacked the ability to set up the true and noble Kingdom (Cameron, 1936, in trans by Anosha, 1987/2008: 37). Mesopotamia has been invaded by many other ethnic groups and tribes, but why have the Guities -and then Medes- been described as biting snakes, wild, uncanny and trespassors of "the gods" territory and in contrast, why was Cyrus introduced as the Savior by Mardok? The inscriptions somewhat clarify the reasons and they expressed some reasons behind the hatred from the Gutian: one is that Gutian turned against the goddesses (Cameron, *ibid*: 37). Diakonoff, in addressing the Guitians "Who was the king and who was not" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 107), has analyzed this issue well. He believed that this point that Guities spreaded hostility and oppression in the country meant that they evoked a class against another and Guitians became the leader of the oppressed masses lords (Diakonoff, cited in Aliev, 1960: 271). ³⁴ In his viewpoint, Guitians were living in an elementary agricultural period and at the time of Patriarchy. The list of names of Gutian kings has two qualities that distinguishes them from others: the brief period of the reign and that there is an explanation before the start of the list in this way: "the Gutian tribe did not have a king"; nonetheless, the list of the kings names has just come. Why did the inscription, on one hand, says that Gutian did not have a king, and on the other hand, it counted the names of the Gutian kings, and how can the short period of the reign of the Gutian kings be justified?

Contrary to the viewpoint of the Western scholars who considered Guitians as frequently busy involved in domestic wars, Diakonoff posed this question" how they reigned over an advanced country during 91 years? Beyond these, "W. K. Shilico "has proven that the ruling of Guitians has been well-established and there has been peace throughout the country. Thus, we can not relate short period of monarchy to waging civil wars. This short term has been perfectly ordinarily,

usually for three or six years, it is assumed that the Gutians kings were chosen for a certain period (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 105).

It has been said that Gottian did not have a king; however, it really did not mean the absence of the king and order. The metaphysical and hierarchical culture of Babylon, like Iran, Egypt and Assyria, sees the earthly and political order as the continuation of the metaphysical/cosmic order. There, the king should have a godesslike glory who should have been chosen by the gods rather than the people. For this reason, Gutians, who had a ground/contract order influenced by the Mehr religion that meant treaties and contracts -this will be discussed later- and also there the kings who did not have metaphysical sanctity and were chosen by people or tribal chiefs have been titled as irratioan, biting snake, aggressive to gods and disordered from the point of view of metaphysical cultures such as Babylon. In same way, as the Medes later who elected Diako were called Ajidahak Ahriman/Devil in the Iranian/Zoroastrian metaphysical culture. For this reason, Hobbes, who again returned to the social contract theory against the divine right of the kings, named his book and his government as Leviathan/Ahriman.

Some scholars regard Tartoni and Zahab inscription as belonging to the Gutian and Lolubi Shahs where the Shah has been placed in front of a goddess and he has gotten the ring of power/legitimacy from him and he has put his enemies under his feet. It is similar to Bistoun inscriptions of Daruis which it is probably Darius' pattern in engraving Bistoun inscription. But, as Herzfeld and following him Viese and Diakonoff have proved, these inscriptions belong to Akadian kings in Kurdistan region. "The inscription is written in Akadian language and its style and time are consistent with the style of the Akkad statues and all are in the era of a king called NaramSin who had a monarchy in Akkad. It is evident from the stone plate belonging to Akkad king at the Laura Museum and from Sarpul pictograph that he is the same king (Naram Sin, Qaderi). Because that king has conquered the land of Lula (Sar-i-Pul) ... this conquest

occured around 2550-2670 BC" (Herzfeld, 1936, in trans by Hekmat, 1354/1975: 18-19). The third pictograph in Sarpul shows the Anobani king in front of the goddess alone. It is likely that this Anobani king is not only the hero of old Akkad but he has also given his name to that land. The dress and all designs in Sarpul and ... are Sumerian dresses too (Herzfeld, *ibid*: 20). Consequently, the inscription of the Tranny and Anobani inscriptions that are mistakenly considered to be the kings of Guti and Lolubi belongs to the Akadian conquerors in the region, which after the conquest of the Gutes, have left these inscriptions in honor of their triumphs and their gods. It is like the inscription of Darius in Bistoun, which is also in the Median land; however, there is no reason to consider it as belonging to the Medes. Darius, after defeating Gaumata and Median Ferawartish, has carved the inscription of Bistoon in which he takes the ring of power and legitimacy from Ahuramazd in honor of his victory on the Medes. The enemies under the feet of Dariush and Shah-e Anobanini are Gutes/Medes and not those who have metaphysical/heavenly legitimacy and take the ring of power and legitimacy from Ahura Mazda/Mardok. These inscriptions and the culture realized in them who have no similiarities (commonalities) with to the Gwtian who had chosen kings and the Medes who had come to power through the social contract. It is unlikely that whatever archaeological excavations have discovered on the territory of the Medes to be belonging to the Median culture (Genito, 1986; Kuhrt, 2010: 19)

This contractual/selective and political culture and the participation of freemen were also obsevered in Mannaians who were also a part of the Gutes (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 93; Aliev, *ibid*: 291). The land of Manna, unlike other eastern countries, continued to play an active role in the Social life. The king of Manna did not manage the affairs of state via "tyranny of vote" and was not actively involved in every affair, but the eldest council limited his power; a Assyrian text says that the king of Manna was accompanied by the elders and advisers and ..." (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 95). "Unlike the other eastern countries, the people of Manna

rebelled against one of their kings, which was unsurpassed in the history of the East, ... the rebellion against the oppressor signalled a public internal cooperation that other nations lacked it due to the conditions of the eastern slavery community" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 166). The economic condition of Manna suggests the presence of large groups of freemen and slaves, and ordinary free people played a big role in political life of Manna state (Ivanov et all, 1965, in trans by Izadi and Tahvili, 1359/1980: 54).

The Social Order of the Medes

The Median era is the darkest time of the history. The lack of the inscriptions and resources have made many historians -Girshman, Aliev, Diakonoff- understand the Median structure in comparison to Assyria and Persia. They were unaware that the Median contradiction with the rest was not only ethnic/tribal, but also structural/cultural. We should, according to Waters, seriously review the traditional views of the scholars who analyzed Medes in the interval between the Assyrian period and the emergence of Pars as in the continuation of the eastern empires as, according to the Assyrian and Babylonian sources, we are faced with a multitude of kings not just one king in Mede (Waters, 2011: 243). All this hatred for the Medes in the mythology of nations is rooted in social structure and Median culture.

"The critique of the sky must be turned into a critique of the earth."Satan and Zahak are rooted in politics and politics is rooted in the social structure of equality and the convention of the Mede. The conceptual analysis of the Mede society requires a courage that may be the same as stupidity and beyond the speculations. However, since the analogy of the Median with Assyria and Persia is also, according to Grishman, speculation, we inevitably have to estimate and guess based on the minimum resources and the analysis we will give below is

not something sacred. It is just the conceptual analysis that constructs concepts, not the description. There will certainly be contradictions between details and facts in our analysis. But we will abstract whatever had hegemony in the framework of concept. We deal with concepts and generalities, not the scattered details, which there exist definitely a lot of contradictions for them. The entire ancient history has been reconstructed according to mere speculation. The principle of science is the same too, conceptualizing and rejecting it. Our conceptualization also provides an angle or a new attitude to the history in general and also a background for further critique and, ultimately, for the annulment of our theory.

Since the Kurds (the Medes) have been described in all Semitic/Iranian and Jewish/Greek myths with the common and evil concepts, they must have had a difference with the rest of all nations, and this difference is not in the concepts of Satan, Ajidahak, Medusa, and ... themselves. It would seem that there was a difference in the social/political structure and culture and the Median government with other nations that have been all described with common cursed concepts. Semitic, Persia, Judaism and Greek cultures are Religiouss/Apollonian and they are based on hierarchical justice (Platonism), heavenly legitimacy and metaphysical culture. In all of these cultures, the Kurds (the Medes) have been described as “the other” of these metaphysical cultures. Can there be inferred concepts that contradict the political wisdom of these nations, such as shared justice, earthly/dyonizational cultures and earthly/contract legitimacy? The Median government was founded on the bases of the social contract and the kings having equal rights to repatriate the foreign enemy (Assyria) and to arbitrate and enforce domestic justice. It was promoted to the level of a powerful empire by leading Howakheshtera. After capturing the Assyria and conquering up to the border of Leeds, the Medes certainly achieved a lot of possessions like the other conquering empires. The flood of all these possessions and riches caused a class breakup and a gap between the aristocrats and military

forces and the public. But, there were two important differences between the Medes and the other eastern empires. One is that the foundation of the Median state was not based on the hierarchy and divine rights of the kings, but rather on the agreemental democracy based on the choice and people's acceptance -not in its current sense. Its purpose was not to take over other states and plunder, unlike Iran and Islam, its goal was domestic justice and repelling the assault of others. The conquest of Assyria was also due to the 700-year-old Assyrian incursions into the land of Mada; the only solution to repel it was the same assault and destruction of the Assyrian empire, which was basically founded on looting and imperialism. Another difference was that the military forces were separated from the general population due to obtaining possessions in other empires and they were considered a distinct and aristocratic class, but the military forces were not a certain separate class, but they included free people and the general public. The reason for the correctness of our claim is clearly evident in Darius' writing in Bistoon inscription, which Diakonoff and Aliyev have also accepted it. Darius the first made a distinction between "the people, the brave men who were with me" and "the Median warriors who were in the congregations" (cited in Diakonoff, ibid: 307). The warrior people -Kare- were all free inhabitants of the land of the Media and the main masses who were the free farmer people. Thus, it was in contrary to "long-living ten thousand people" in the Pars Corps who Daruis led them during Cambyses' invasion of Egypt Darius. We will focus on this matter in more detail in discussing the Median state.

As we have said, conquering the Assyria has definitely had a lot of gains for the Medes. But as it was mentioned above, firstly, the military men were the same ordinary people and liberals of the community. Therefore, the military men being rich was the richness of the entire Median and liberal society, not the aristocrats and the certain class of people. Secondly, the structure of the Median society/state, unlike Achaemenid, was not based on aristocracy, but on common people and tribal democracy. If there had been an aristocratic class and it had

owned a lot of wealth -which was also the case- it would have been unaccustomed to the Median society, not something common to it. We can prove the accuracy of our argument by saying that the betray of the aristocrats under the leadership of Harpag and Moghan, both to the Median community and to the king and supporting foreign king caused a general unity and solidarity of the people and liberals with King Astiag that showed the resistance of "all Medes from the old and young" for three years against Cyrus (Herodotus, 1987: 101) indicating freemen's support for Astiag.

If the foundation of the Median society/state and its kingdom was based on aristocracy and plundering war gains, it would certainly be the common and free people who would betray or revolt against the king and the nobles, not the nobles and Maguses against the king and the group of freemen. Therefore, when we speak of the structure of equality and justice of the Median community versus the class and hierarchical justice of the Iranian society, we do not mean that the Median community has been utopia, but the issue is about the foundations of these two societies/states. The Achaemenids/Iranian society/Achaemenid government was developed based on the aristocracy and the heavenly legitimacy of plundering, and the foundation of Median society/state was developed on the bases of democracy, popular acceptance, and defense and justice. "The Median kingdom was established in confrontation with aristocrats firm defense and the Median kings were reliant on the masses of the free people" (Diakonoff, ibid: 256). The conflict between the military and tribal elders (wealthy aristocrats) and the kingdom who pursued the progressive policy of unity of the country ... that relied on the broader sections of freedom intensified more and more and it destroyed the Median government during the rein of the next king (Astiag) ... " (ibid: 310). The Median king could exist only on the condition of fighting against the elders and relying on the general freemen (ibid: 385). However, in Media a wealthy class of aristocrats came into the existence with the conquest of Assyria

and ... the bounty of war gains and wealth ... but the available sources of information do not indicate the division of society into military, religious and ... classes such as the society of Avestan Indian and Sassanian Iran ..." (Diakonoff, cited in Gershevitch, 1985, in trans by Shalgoni, 1387/2008: 163). We do not have any information of the Achaemenids slaves in agricultural work and family in Mede (ibid: 164). If there had been a slavery, it would not have exceeded domestic slavery. The main producers were the free inhabitants, each of whom was also a warrior, and this was the secret behind the Median's success (Aliev, ibid: 397). It can be deduced from Herodotus words that Astiag had slaves as it is seen in this phrase: "Mtridat, the shepherd of King's herds"; nonetheless, Herodotus' words imply that the slaves were not different from the free people. The slaves used to be the shepherds and had the right to form a family. Ctesias also speaks of a particular type of pseudo-slavery which had no particular difference with child abduction. There was a non-written law for the poor under the support of a rich man in which the miserable would have to serve the rich as long as he supplied him with food and clothing (Aliev, ibid: 416). What is inferred from the connotations of ctesias and Herodotus words is that it was not really slavery. It was the opposite of slavery as the slave has the right to leave the slavery in the absence of provision and then to change his master. The lords had the right to change the slaves, but in no place in the world from Rome to Egypt, no slaves, as its name suggests, had no right to protest and no right to access food and clothing. Herodotus also pointed out that a Median nobleman could play with the child of a slave in equal conditions (Herodotus, cited in Diakonoff, ibid: 163). Although the Mitradas has a symbolic meaning and it is derived from Mithra, it is possible that it denoted a treaty and an agreement that is the guardian of the people and I will deal with it later in the discussion about Mithra.

Herodotus, who says that Astiag was brutal with the Medians, but he immediately clarified that he meant that he was brutal oly with the noble of

Mede. Therefore, "the king Astiag, should have ... a kind of social support like that of the masses of peasants in case of fighting against aristocracy" (ibid: 171172). As the King did not make the aristocrats richer from conquests, they turned against him (Herodotus, cited in Diakonoff, ibid: 171). In Median society/government, members of the communes and the king were united against the aristocrats and Maguses, and Maguses, along with the aristocrats, had a political role (Ivanov, ibid: 69). The Median kingdom, which relied on the freemen and the masses of people, was as much against nobles as was also not in a good relationship with Maguses. Maguses also, were involved in the betrayal toward the Median king as much as the aristocrats. At the same time, Maguses persuaded Astiag to make Cyrus escape; as the result, Astiag captured Maguses and punished them severly (Herodotus, ibid: 101). Aristocratic nature of the clerics (Maguses) could not suit the democratic nature of Median kingdom" (Diakonoff, ibid: 174). Maguses, along with aristocrats, got in touch with the insurgents and Persians; thus, the Maguses received a special respect in the court of Cyrus and Cambyses" (Diakonoff, ibid: 175).

Aristocrats and Maguses, who later betrayed Medians and joined Cyrus, attributed the story of oppression, cruelty, and making the others eat the flesh of the children to Astiag just to justify their betrayal. While Herodot's story of feeding the flesh of the children to Harpag is legendary, Herodotus himself, who says that Astiag chose Harpag to command the army in the war against Cyrus, repudates this story. Herodotus took the information from the descendants of Harpag ... "(Diakonoff, ibid: 171-172). Herodotus and Ctesiass have quoted that Harpag had set up the ground for a conspiracy before Persian rebellion against the Medes, and he gave Cyrus the words of Median nobles to support him (Herodotus, ibid: 98; Diakonoff, ibid: 387). ³⁸ The same conspiracy of the two groups of aristocrats and Maguses, on the one hand, and the influx of Iranian/Persian Cyrus led to the final collapse of the Median state, on the other hand. Until the fall of the Medes and even shortly afterwards, the free citizens

were the most important factor in the median society and were the main core of their blessings and the main force of their army (Aliev, *ibid*: 406) but gradually the class culture that infiltrated into the Mede from the advanced countries destroyed quickly whatsoever the Mede government was constructd on (*ibid*: 405). Two groups of aristocrats and clergymen (Maguses) were able to survive with the blood of gains and property that had flowed in their veins was in all ancient societies. In Mede, cutting off this blood flow that took the breath out of them sought support from Persian Cyrus to make a deal with him and later formed the main foundations of the Achaemenids/Persian government. In fact, the two groups of aristocrats and Maguses who betrayed the Medes and caused the final collapse of the Median state/society, were turned into the main pillars of the Persian/Iranian state. Persian society from the Achaemenids to the Sasanians, that is, what led to the decline of the Medes became the agent of the emergence and formation of the Parsian government. It was the unity of the two groups of aristocrats and clergymen (Maguses), which led to the collapse of other Kurdish movements from Gaumata and Ferawartish to Mazdak and Khoramdinan. If the class culture, as some of the historians have pointed it out, led to the fall and decline of the Median government/society, it was the advent of folks' culture and Islamic democracy that were the main factors behind the eclipse of Iran in Sasanian era, as some other historians have refered to it (Grishman, 1976: 430), i.e. the factors causing the Kurd (from the Gotic era and the Middle to the Khoramdinan period) to decline have led to the persistence of the Persians. The communist and anti-class structure of the Kurds, which began with the Gutes and was reproduced with the Medes, Gaumata, Mazdak, and Kharvdinan, in opposition to the aristocratic and classical structure of Iran, which began with the Achaemenids against the Medes, and was reconstructed with Darius against the Gaumata, Anoshirvan versus Mazdak, Afshin and Taherian versus Khoramdinan.

The Achaemenids/Persians social order:

The Persians were the Aryan immigrants who, according to some historians, came from the Caucasus to the Zagros and from Zagros to Elam (Anshan) and then to the present Persia. Some other historians deny the migration of the Persians from the land of the Medes (Zagros) and are in favor of their migration from the East to Persia. In our view, the hypothesis of Persian immigration from the Caucasus and Media to Persia cannot be defended and the hypothesis of immigration from the east is more correct, as we have already discussed it. Persians settled in Pars around the year 670 BC almost in the time of Assur Bani Pal 633-668 and Cyrus II became the king of the Iranian tribes about 558 BC, whom the people of Pasargados tribe were leading other tribes (Dandamayev, 1963: 136). At the beginning of his reign, Cyrus II (the Great) was dependent on the king of Mede -Astiag-, but later he revolted against him. As the news of Nabonid-Cyrus and the inscriptions of Nabonid and the ancient Greek authors testify it, he defeated Medes after three years of struggle in 550 BC, and he captured Astiag and seized the treasures of the Ecbatana palaces, and took with him to Iran. Since that time, Iran has entered the world of history from inside the deepest darkness of history (Dandamayev, ibid: 137).

Cyrus managed to occupy Mede in collaboration with Babylon, Armenians, and Eastern Iranians, and along with the aristocratic/Maguses infiltrators in Mede led by Harpag, but what was the cause of Cyrus's greed for the occupation of Mede? Apparently, the reason for this was that the Persians were burning in the greed for the riches of the Medes (Briant, 2002, in trans by Feraghan, 1387/2008: 23). In order to understand this point fully, we would read the following quotation from the father of historians: "Cyrus was thinking about how to make Iranians riot against Medes. After a great deal of thought, he made ready a group

of Iranians and read a ... in which Astiag appointed him their commander and said that in this case I will tell you to go and bring your own sickle each one Cyrus ordered each one to clean up a piece of land full of thorns before sunset The next day, Cyrus beheaded all his father's flocks and cattle including sheeps and cows, and provided them with a feast to all the soldiers along with having wine and fun (emphasis is mine - Qaderi). ... At the end of the party, he asked them which one of the two following choices you would rather welcome more. They replied: "The difference between the two was so much, yesterday that we had a hard time, and today it was all fun. Cyrus explained his logic explicitly and said your situation is this now if you listen to my word, you will enjoy the blessings and the thousands of other pleasures and you would never suffer pain and slavery. If you do not listen, prepare yourself for the suffering and abundance of labor like yesterday. I have the duty to liberate you from behalf of the God (emphasis is mine, Qaderi). You are not inferior than the Medes at all; therefore, rebel immediately against the Astiag" (emphasis is mine, Qaderi) (Herodotus, *ibid*: 100-99).

There are a few important points in this speech: that the foundation of rebellion and the Persian Empire war against the Medes has been their thirst for authority and the wealth of the Medes. Second, Cyrus knows himself as the messenger of God. Third, and more importantly, the forum that Cyrus was addressing has been the army personels and probably the noblemen. We will deal with the first and second cases later, and now we will focus on the third case, i.e. the base of the Achaemenid Empire, which was aristocrats and army. Since the Persian Cyrus soldiers were the same warriors who rebelled against Median, and perhaps Kare (in Darius inscription) denoted the same people (Frye, 1963, in trans by Rajabnia, 1344/1965: 176). The foundation of the Persian Empire and the Persian rebellion was not common folks and rebellion against oppression, but it was aristocrats and the thirst and plunder of others' wealth with aggression and oppression. This was not a rebellion, but a conquest

via war and plunder, and the construction of the Persian Empire was based on militarism, conquest and plundering from the beginning, that is, the same plundering armies that would turn into the aristocrats and the superior class of society.

Herodotus attributes the great privilege of the seven great and influential tribes and their establishment to Darius after the fall of the Gaumata-Samaridis (Herodotus, *ibid*:232-242; Dandamayev, *ibid*: 224). However, as many scholars have pointed out, this is related to Cyrus the second. (Dunker, 1867: 811; Flogl, 1881: 13; Prasek, 1906: 204; Dandamayev, *ibid*: 22; Wiesehofer, 1978, in trans by Sedigh, 1389/2010: 70).

There were some compromises between Cyrus and nobles involving these conditions that Cyrus would become a King and the privileges of that special class would be preserved. Cyrus himself was one of the tribal princes and the representative of the tribes because the Achaemenid dynasty was one of the seven famous tribes (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 225– 226).

One of the main conditions of nobles and Cyrus accord was Cyrus' continuous squadrons. He started the base of his empire with raging war on Mede, and he was killed while attacking Massages, he was constantly engaged in the war and the plunder of other nations. While the basis of the Medes' squadrons, according to Grishman, was to conquer territories where they themselves lived on, specifically, their wars were for the liberation of their own lands, not the conquest of others. The Median kingdom relied on the masses of people against the aristocracy, but -according to Xenophon- Cyrus often distinguished the common people from the nobles; in the Cyrus Corps, the peoples lived their lives without doing any work, because they earned their living on the work of others (Xenophon, book 8, seasons 1, paragraph 16, cited in Briant, *ibid*: 520).

The policy of founding the empire was compatible with the intentions of the tribal nobles (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 70). Cyrus and the aristocrats intended to

conquer lands for the sake of gains (Rezaei, 1384/2005: 309), as the warfare gains were poured into aristocrats' pockets. In sending the masses of people and captives of other nations, Shah (King), Maguses and the Persian aristocrats enjoyed its concessions and they were exempt from taxes. After killing the Median Gaumata, all the nations of Asia cried for him except the Persians (Herodotus, *ibid*: 224). Gaumata, who exempted them from three years recruitment and paying taxes, clashed with the arrogance and conspiracy of the aristocrats. Forgiving the taxpayment and recruitment for three years meant the termination of the Persian aristocracy, and the ending of the superiority of the Persians against other nations under their domination. As Herodotus remarked, the Persians have gained all the great riches as the result of looting; thus, they were not able to restrict themselves to any limitations (Wiesehofer, *ibid*: 71). At the time of Cyrus, all the countries regarded as the whole universe were conquered by Cyrus, and the share of Cambyses was only the conquest of Egypt. For this reason, with the end of the conquests and the disruption of the blood of the aristocratic gains, the contradiction developed between the nobles and Cambyses. The secret behind this point that Cyrus is introduced as the king and the father (VII, 2.) (Cameron, 1955: 81-86) and Cambyses, as a dangerous and crazy man (Herodotus, *ibid*: 210, Shwenzner, 1921: 84). The story of Herodotus, which Cameron described as the goodness of Cyrus and Zener as the madness of Cambyses was also taken from a source of Iranian news (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 227). The same aristocrats were Iranian news source (Dandamayev, *ibid*), whose benefits from plundering Cambyses' policies were not in line with. This was the source of Herodotus' information calling Astiag and Medes as evil, with the difference that the anti-noble policies of Cambyses were in the direction of the centralizing power (Dandamayev, *ibid*) and tyranny. The antinoble policies of Astiag-Gaumata were in line with the public and masses of the people. The Iranian/Achaemenids Empire has been reflected in the narration of the Xenophon and even the Iranian mythology.

Therefore, unlike the Median state/society, the Cyrus/Iranian empire system was established based on aristocracy and hierarchical justice. "The high aristocrats of Persia cooperated with Cyrus, and Cyrus also received them with open arms" (Cook, 1383: 106). This was this aristo-cratic/hierarchical structure (Platonic justice) which resulted in the fall of the Medes and the founding of Achaemenid. It faced challenges, according to Wiesehofer, from Median Gaumata who was the predecessor of Mazdak; these challenges were the elements of socialist justice and anti-aristocracy, anti-religious, Median and anti-Persian, tax exemption, recourse, etc., and again they were reproduced by Darius. In Sasaniads time along with the Kurdish revolt of Mazdak -we will come to it later- we will see that the same characteristics of shared justice, freedom of Eros and ... shaked the foundation of the Sassanid civilization; however, it was destroyed via the unification of aristocrats and Maguses by Anoshirvan and the aristocratic/hierarchical system of Iran resumed anew.

3. The Median government against the Iranian government: the contract against the divine right

The Median government:

In the previous discussions, I remarked some points: We denied the racial/linguistic kinship of the two tribes of Mede and Pars. Medes are the Indigenous people of the region and the tribal outcome of Guthic, Caspian, and ... people who were perpetual residents of this land. However, Persians are the migrants and Aryans who migrated to Persia from the south of Russia steppes in eastern course. Then, we questioned the mythical but baseless hypothesis of the Median being of Cyrus as rooted in the myth of Kaykhosrow, whose mother Farangis was the daughter of Afrasiab, the King (Shah) of Turanian.

Subsequently, it was his character and biography which was modeled on Cyrus. Later, we challenged the prevailing, but unwarranted, hypotheses of the shared dominance of Mede and Pars, and that Cyrus has ruled over the Medes through the Medes own wishes. In terms of social/class structure, we proved the difference between the two Persian and Median systems, and now we will distinguish between the Persian/Achaemenids government/empire and the Median government, in order to show baseless being of this prevailing assumption that the Achaemenid empire was in the continuation of the system of Median government. In fact, the formation of the Iranian government/empire was not a continuation of the government/kingdom of Medes, but it developed in the breakdown, negation, and the construction of “the other” for it. In the following, we will prove that the political intellectuality of Iranians and their empire system as the reproduction/continuity of the political ration of the Mesopotamian (Assyrian/Babylonian), Egypt and Elam structures, not that of the Medes.

According to Herzfeld and others, the Median history is the darkest period in the so-called Iranian history. Some scholars deny the existence of ancient artifacts in Mede (Genito, 1986: 11). The Medes lacked their own writing language, and probably used the cuneography of the Akad (Schmidt, 2006). Archeological and artistic evidence of the Medes is so much scattered that it is difficult to provide an interpretation of it (Kuhrt, 2010: 19), and we should continue to have archaeological discoveries in order to illuminate the darkness of Median history. Unfortunately, until the fulfillment of those expectations, Median history should be studied based on the evil viewpoints of Mede enemies, i.e. the Assyrians, the Persians and the Baby-lonians whose inscriptions indicated their own rightfulness and the humiliation of the Medes. Even Greek historians -as well as Herodotus- as proved today, have taken their own information from the enemies of Mede, the descendants of Harpag and the other seven conspiring aristocratic families conspiring against Gaumatia. Some

scholars consider the Herodotus writings to be of no importance in correspondence with the Assyrian texts (Helm, 1981: 87). Some others regard them as validators of Herodotus writings (Bivar, 2005: 340-342). Thus, criticizing some of the Herodotus' ideas and giving credits to others does not mean arbitrary use of his viewpoints. Given that the sources of Herodotus' information were the opponents of the Medes, one should be more cautious in using the opposing viewpoints than the agreemental ones. Certainly, the Median oppositions did not say what was in the interest of the Medes and to their own detriment. Of course, it is possible that they did not conceal facts from Herodotus that, in their thoughts, were a source of the Medes humiliation, but in the light of the awareness of modern histography, they are not taken as humiliation but as worthwhile sources of information. One of these facts is the doctrine of arbitration and public choice of Diako among the formation regarding the Median government. Even in expressing these facts, the vindictiveness of the Herodotus' resources, i.e. the Median oppositions, is well evident.

Herodotus writes: "the Medes were scattered in the countryside and did not have any central government; as the result, chaos spreaded throughout that land. Dioux, who was a prominent man in his village, tried to carry out justice among his compatriots with greater zeal and seriousness . . . Since people of the village recognized his grace and perfection, they chose him as the judge of their differences. He (Diox) acquired such a credibility in the eyes of his compatriots that he attracted the attention of the people who lived in the neighborhoods . . . they were pleased to bring him their countless contrasts" (Herodotus, *ibid*: 7677). Therefore, the basis of the Median state is founded on arbitrariness and the need for judgment (Mirzai, 1379/2000: 233), the popularity and people choice, cooperation and internal security, and finally the repulsion of the foreign enemy (Assyria), not invasion and aggression. Unlike Iranians/Persians, there was no mention of the king's divine right (metaphysical legitimacy), royal race, and the thirst to achieve the wealth of the other nations.

After reappointing Diox as the judge, Herodotus writes that: "he (Diox) asked to build a glorious palace deserving his name and to give him a personal guard ... he asked them to build a big city ... a city which is now called Ekbatan whose walls are tall, tight, circular and in maze shape ... each of which is wider than the other wall ... the numbers of circles are seven. Each wall was in a special color, the first white and the second black, and ... that they had painted them with the different colors, and the roofs of the last two were covered with silver in one of them and the gold in the other..." (Herodotus, *ibid*: 78-79). Herodotus continues, "Diox separated himself from people and the laughing and spitting were forbidden in the presence of the king and ... these are special to the great and magnificent kings. Nonetheless, Diox continued to judge justly" (*ibid*: 80). This later description of Herodotus about the seven color palace... can not be accurate. "Herodotus' comment on Median kingdom (capital, guard and ...) is similar to the pre-made model of the "first innovator" and the Achaemenids institutions ... and we are tempted to think that Herodotus, like Strabo, has attached what he has known about the Persian customs on the reign of the Medes" (Briant, *ibid*: 41). Therefore, "Ekbatan, as described by Herodotus, has never existed; these descriptions regarding the colorful walls are similar to those of the legendary city of Gang Dej. Herodotus description of Ekbatan is all myth that Herodotus has considered a historical fact. The description of the Greek historian, Plebius, is more precise and correct that Ekbatan had no walls and it had only a solid fortress" (Herzfeld, *ibid*: 49-50). "The construction of seven houses with strange colors is seen in the very old stories, and it has been reproduced in folklore myths. Herodotus has also used it to describe the Diox's Palace ..." (Christensen, 1941: 121). "How is it possible to identify something Ekbatan- in later texts which belonged to the Median period and the Achaemenid and Greek carried out changes in it ...?" (Briant, *ibid*: 130). The fact that Ekbatan has been described after performing the Achaemenids and Greek changes on it can be generalized to the entire Median political culture. Unfortunately, the

ancient and modern writers describes the structure of state and political culture of the Medes in analogy with the Achaemenids and the Assyrians eras which should be strictly avoided. In the weakness of information about Medians, the Iranian/Mesopotamian political culture cannot be molded on that country.

"Herodotus' words about time and the conditions of the establishment of this norm (the courtiers and the seven-colored palace of the Diako-Qaderi) are in doubt. He has transferred the rules that were known to him at Dariush and Ardeshir's court to the mythical court of Diako However, if we attribute the construction of the palace and ... the orders related to King's life to Cyrus' time, it will be more correct ... the rulers of the Persia, undoubtedly, have adapted the style of the rules of the Assyrian – Babylon palaces" (Briant, *ibid*: 141).

Herodotus' writings are about the beginning of the formation of the government of the Medes, but whether the same popular structure of the Mede state continued after Diox, or tended towards despotism and absolute authority? We have already said that the mass/popular and anti-aristocratic structure of the Median state remained until the last king of the Medes-Astiag, and Astiag became the victim of his popular and anti-aristocratic policies. Some scholars are attempting to see the Astiag policies, in contrast to aristocrats, towards centralization and absolute monarchy similar to Cambyses, but the available resources do not show any evidence of the centralization and autocracy of the Median kings. This is also evident from the narrations of the Jewish Prophets, the Assyrian inscriptions -up to the time of Hovaxshatra- and the contemporary scholars.

Jeremiah the prophet in addressing to the Medes: "a great nation and the numerous kings come from the north. God has blessed the spirit of the kings of Mede ... O daughter of Babylon, the rulers of the Medes are the whole of governors (emphasis is mine - Qaderi), and all the people of the world are in his kingdom ..." (Jeremiah the prophet, cited in Aliev, *ibid*: 410 - 411). As it is the case in the word of Jeremiah the prophet, Medes are addressed in the terms of

numerous kings, “Mede kings”, and “the whole of their rulers” at the height of his power after the conquest of Assyria, which posed a threat to the great government of Babylon. If the Mede government was a centralized and despotic system, only a king and a person, and not many kings, etc would be named. The same Jeremiah the Prophet while speaking about the Achaemenids, he did not mention a name of the Achaemenids, nor Persians, nor anyone else, but speaks only about the name of Cyrus. That is, Cyrus has had such a personal centralized system and absolute tyranny as if the whole Iranians /Persians ... were diggested in the personality of Cyrus. Again, Jeremiah the prophet, when discussing the Median Kings, he stated the names “Ararat, Urartu, Maine, Manna, Scanaz, Scythians, and ...” (ibid: 411). Ararat and Manna and ... were under the domination of the Medes at that time which were still independently named. They had retained their identity and the kingdom despite being under the political dominant of the medes. As it was the case with Persians who continued to call themselvesd kings and to have internal autonomy even after being under the domination of the Medes. That is, in the system of the Medes’ government/kingdom, there was no concentration of power, tyranny, hierarchy, unity -not agreement- and ... and there has been, in the language of today, a kind of federalism and unity as plurality or empire. All nations under the domination of the Medes continued to have a kingdom, domestic independence and freedom. “We do not have any information about the sending of a Mede as a satrap (governor) of another country like Persia, Armenians, etc”. They had nothing like the concept of the kingdom there in the modern sense that today Iranians ⁵⁰ consume, as Manuel Cook pointed out: "Cyrus appointed his own rulers in the regions which he conquered. Therefore, he was not the king of the kings like the the real kings of the Medes" (Cook, 1983, in trans by Saqibfar,1389/2010; 88). ⁵¹ Its referent is neither a centralized or hierarchical empire of the Iranians, from Achaemenid to Sassanids, which were based on their domination on the other people/the Persians (Briant, ibid: 126), but its true referents are the Medes.

"Emile Benonist" also linguistically states that the term "Imperial" is not Persian, but it is a lending word of the Median language (Benveneste, 1969: 17). Herodotus has also described Mede kingdom as an inept organization (Herodotus, cited in Frye, 1963, in trans by Rajabnia, 1344/1965: 120). Even the domination of the Medes on Central Asia was more like a treaty with local chieftsmen than the formation of an empire (Briant, *ibid*: 35).

Further, "the Medes described by the Assyrian inscriptions had 27 independent kings, and there is no document that the internal conditions of the people of the Medes have been transformed in the direction of the unification of the tribes around a greater ruler that could be called the king" (Briant, *ibid*: 41). "The uprising of the Medes was in Nowroz of 673 against Assyria, with the leadership of Kheshterita, the lord of Dehkar, Kashi, Mami, Tiarsho, the lord of Wishinde in the state of Madhya, and Dosanti, the lord of the Deh in the state of Separsa. In this way, the people of the three states got involved in struggles under three leaders having equal- rights" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 247).

There are clear references in Assyrian texts indicating lack of a centralized Median government (Volgelsang, 1999: 48). "The old Assyrian texts refer to a number of rulers, called "Bilyalani", who ruled in different areas of Mede. The tribe whose head was "Wispatish", the clan whose chairman was "Zantopatish" and the nation, whose chairman was "Hivpatish"; all three also were used to mean human beings and their shelters ... Bilali, in its singular form, was the general chief and the highest rank of the rulers ... that they were not given any special title ... because they did not officially recognize the supremacy of a superior tribe over the other tribes. This superiority was officially recognized through the marriage of the chiefs ... in Babylonian tradition the person who was the head of the Medes was called the Shah (the king). The nickname of Bilali in singular was not the head of the tribe, nor the chief of the clan, but Hivapathis was the head of the nation" (Herzfeld, 1936, in trans by Hekmat, 1351/1972: 47-49). The "Bilali" in its plural form referred to the lowest grade of the tribal ranks

(the chief of a tribe); however, "Bilalani" in singular form was the general head and "Hivpatish" meant the head of the nation.

That is, "Hivpatish", the head of the nation of the Medes, has been as the result of the same accord of the Bilalani and the entire tribesmen. The Assyrians used Bilalani to refer to the Medes, not to mean the head of the tribe, but the head of the Hivapasis (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 179). The Medes themselves used the Bilalani in singular form to show the highest level of the ruler - the Hivapatish. Thus, the Assyrians who utilized Bila collectively about the Medes and not in addressing to the nomad chiefs denoted the same Hivapatish, and the plurality of kings. This is what the Medes would name it multi-kings to means the diversity and numerosity of the kings. However, the Persian emperors the Median and its Mithraian/accord meanings and gave them Persian Zoroastrian/Godly meanings, that is, they interpreted Fere (very =multi) kings as FereShahi (king's glory) or kings divine sign which we will come to it later. Thus, even at the height of the war with the Assyrians -every nation need a serious leader and a serious military hierarchy-, the Medes had several leaders with equal ranks. The tyranny that Herodotus refers to is the tightening of the Median leaders against the nobility with the support of the masses of people. "The success of Kheshteriteh uprising depended on the support of the masses of the Mede free people of the Median kings against the tribal aristocrats" (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 256-257). Herodotus, who refers to the tyranny of Diox himself, writes: "Medes had people assemblies and elders councils" (Herodotus, cited in Diakonoff, *ibid*: 180). Mede country were composed of autonomous and independent states (Rezaei, 1384: 204) and Median kings were self-decision makers (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 180) since they relied on the masses of free people (Rezai, *ibid*: 206). All centralized imperialist monarchies of the history have ruled through rigorous tyranny and hierarchy; the notion of a powerful Mede without a hierarchical harsh concentration is difficult for many scholars. Thus, many have casted doubts on a powerful and unified Median kingdom (Strohnach

in Curtis, 2005, in trans by Mokhber, 1373/1994: 182). They were unaware of the fact that the main force of the Med was not in concentrated kingdom, but in the participation of the people's power and the agreement of the tribes.

One of the reasons for the lack of tendency towards corruption in the state of the Mede (Diakonoff, *ibid*: 257) was the non-formation of a separate class of military personnels. Darius made a difference between "people -the warrior who were with me" and "the people -the Median warlords who were in the congregations". It means the Median Army was not isolated from the people and consisted of volunteering troops (*ibid*: 182). The formation of military cadres and their leadership lead to the hierarchy of society and the absolute sovereignty of leaders over the masses of the people in many societies. However, in Mede, the king had no monopoly of economy and property, not the monopoly of the army and the military; the army and the military served the society, and the king had no means for absolute power. It was as if the king indicated only symbolic legitimacy and policies. Another reason for the lack of hierarchy and tendency toward tyranny in the Median state is found in the fact that the leader in other eastern societies was from the race of gods or chosen by gods and was of a particular seedling, and had a divine right to be king not being responsive to people but to God; as his order were from gods, they were absolutely effective. However, in Median state, the basis of the state was founded not on the divine right of the king in the Median state, ... but on the basis of a general vote - not in its current sense and as a social contract- which is quite evident from the name of the Hegmataneh meaning the place of gathering (Grishman, *ibid*: 116) is wellknown and had no other source of legitimacy other than the people and their will.

Iranian Government

Herodotus's reference to the formation of the Iranian/Achaemenid Empire pointed out to three important points, one was that Cyrus' address was to encourage Iranians (armies) to invade the Medes (Herodotus, *ibid*: 100). Thus, the General Society that Cyrus called on at the time of the preparation of the rebellion against the Medes to speak against the Medes in front of them were the same armies (Widengren, 1968, in trans by Farhang, 1377/1998: 149). Secondly, Cyrus considered himself as the envoy from behalf of the god to free the Persians (*ibid*) from the domination of the Medes. The third was that the foundation of the formation of this empire was the war and the thirst for Median wealth (*ibid*). Previously, we discussed the military/aristocracy nature of the Achaemenid/Iranian Empire and its negation of the Medes and its anti-median being. Now, as we have inferred the basis of the Median state according to Herodotus, we will deal with the other two elements on the bases of this text affecting the structure of the Achaemenid/Iranian Empire. One is the claim of the metaphysical legitimacy and divine right of the first king of Iran and the second is the formation of the kingdom based on aggression to acquire gains and the wealth of the other nations.

As it is clear from the content of Herodotus' book, the basis of the Persian empire under the leadership of Cyrus was founded on the occupation and thirst for wealth and the gains of other lands with the divine right of the kings in contrary to the Medes which the foundation of their government was formed based on the internal consensus and the implementation of justice with the terresterial/agreemental legitimacy. In contrast, the foundation of the Iranian empire, like Islam, was based on the occupation of other lands and the acquisition of gains. From the promises of Cyrus and the Persian spears of Darius to the "the way of Quds goes through Karbala" each time under different ideologies (Islami, Ahurai, the border of the Greater Iran, etc) as if it is the fate of Iran to occupy and claim others lands. Land taking was due to the "aristocratic structure of power in Achaemenids Iran (Christensen, *ibid*: 3) -who were

thinking of personal gain and profligacy - and lawlessness in the community that the personal whishes of the king (Shah) were considered absolute law. As the result, all the people of Pars, with the exception of one person (the king), were handfuls of slaves devoided from the rights of citizenship" (Xenophon, cited in Aliev, *ibid*: 321). What the Iranian king wanted from the subordinated people was "to live for the sake of him, to work for him, to fulfill all his requests and to die in his path" (Grishman, cited in Rezaei, 1384/2005: 315). The desire of the absolute ruler of Iran was acquiring the glory of more land taking (Conquest). Cyrus himself always compared the good king with a good shepherd who expects absolute obedience from his serfs (Xenophon, n. d., in trans by Karimi, 1350/1971: 258). The structure of the shepherds / cattle (the lord/the landlord) would make all to be under the pure obedience of the king. "In Iran, all subordinate nations, under the care and control of the king's guardians, would bring the ransom for the king, and the king is the center of life. The Greeks worship the gods and the Iranians pray for a human being that represent God" (Grishman, 1976, in trans by Mo'in, 1388/2009: 422).

Contrary to Dioux, Cyrus did not get his legitimacy from the public choice, but he regarded himself as being sent from behalf of God, and his (the Cyrus) first thought was from the gods and making sacrifice for them, (Xenophon, cited in Briant, *ibid*: 372). He determined the first and the greatest assignment as the worship of the gods (Xenophon, cited in Farshad-Mehr, 1385/2006: 64). From the very beginning of the formation of his empire, he emphasized on his devine right and metaphysical legitimacies. "The relation between one thousand religion and the ideology of the kingdom – which is the base of government in Iran to this day -Qaderi- set up with the Achaemenids and it was only this sort of ruling that would save the world from the evil of chaos and turmoil The Achaemenids authority established a basic hierarchy via combining divine rule and authority that was observed throughout the empire as though this hierarchy has began with Ahuramazda ...; hence, the right to rule became exclusive to them

... the rebellion against the Achaemenid king was considered as the uprising against Ahuramazda and his universal system. These beliefs and ideals were clearly expressed in the first inscriptions of Darius the first in Bisotun ..., the tomb of Xerxes ... and the scrip of the inscription of the Cyrus' manifest, with the difference that Cyrus as the king of Babylon has been described and sanctified by Mardok , the god of Babylonian and not AhouraMazda" (Garthwaite, 2004: 97). "In Achaemenids (the political system), whatever the king did was in fact executing the orders of Ahuramazda (in Cyrus it is Mardok, Qaderi); therefore, all activities of the king is out of the realm of curiosity and supervision of the people" (GhaziMoradi, 1389/2010: 63-64). "During the Achaemenids era, the system of governance was absolute tyranny, and the king (Shah) was the representative of Ahura Mazda ... He could eliminate anyone who wanted without trial even the king's beloved was also free to kill others" (Rezaei, 1384: 313). "The Achaemenid king did not use his sword in his name far from his own land, but in the way of executing the divine commandments and the actions of the king approved by the great god; this issue indicated absolute obedience" (Grishman, ibid: 68). "According to the Iranian people, there were two essential tools in the hands of goodness against evil to defeat it, one was co-religion people and the other monarchy and the obedience of the king ... According to the book Din Kard, the religion is Shahriyari (governing) and governing is religion" (Amozgar, 1385/2006:153).

The divine right of kings (Fera-e Izadi), along with ancestry, are the two main elements of the legitimacy of the Achaemenids kings (Wiesehofer, 2001, in trans by saqibfar, 1377/1998: 50-51). The legitimacy based on the divine right having its own especial word, "Khoreneh" is known as "Fare" in Persian language " (Garthwaiet, ibid: 122). "The Achaemenid kings were neither worshiped nor claiming to be descendants of the gods; nevertheless, they had a special relationship with the supreme being. The legitimacy of the ruler and his theoretical tyranny reflected his position as the representative of Ahura Mazda -

"I am the king at the will of Ahura Mazda, these are the countries that I became their king over them on earth thanks to Ahuramazda (Qaderi)" (Garethwaiet, *ibid*).

The Achaemenids/Iranian political order is a continuation of the galaxy order, and the king (Shah) is Ahuramazda's successor under this order. The Shah is in the common ground of this world and the divine world, and these two worlds are related with each other based on his mediation (Briant, *ibid*: 369). The insurrection against the Shah is the rebellion against the galaxy order and the world system, and Ahura Mazda. Even Mazdayasna is dependent on the kingdom to win over devil" (Maskob, 2536:19). All this emphasis on the king and his metaphysical legitimacy were due to the lack of Shah's popular acceptance among the defeat-ed nations, such as Mede. An accepted and a chosen Shah, such as Astyagh does not have any needs to emphasize on divine legitimacy.

In the thought of Iran land, the person of the Shah is counted as the god on earth, and the most solid institution of the political system of Iran (Tabatabaie, 1380/2001: 115]. Shah is described by the the word "Kheshaytyh" and based on "Benonist" it meant God" in ancient Persia, which became the Shah's word in the new Persian. Benonist further added that the ruler is called Khwataw in the Soghdian language, which in essence means autocratic in its lexical mean-ing, that is, one who has absolute power and his power is not owed to anyone else, and the Greek word autocrat is the loan translation of it. The word "Khwttay" in Middle Persian re-fers to the word "Khoda=God" which means possessing absolute power. The word "God" in Iran, unlike the Indo-European religions, does not represent the right path, in Iran, however, we observe the emergence of absolute power, which the Achaemenid Kingdom was conceived as its realization (Benveniste, 1969: 17-21). Therefore, the history of Iran's kings was composed under the title of "Khoday Nameh=God of the Letter". Shah's sovereignty is an absolute example of Allah's/Ahuramazda's rule in the sky. "The

fact that six of Iran's nobles helped the king in administering affairs shows a correspondence the reign of the heavenly monarchy where Ahuramazda ruled there along with six great Amshaspands (Majesticists, Angels). The situation is governed through an order inspired by the heavenly and divine plan. "(Boyce, 1982, in trans by San'atizade, 1381/2002: 142). Thus, if the pattern of the rule of the Achaemenid kings is established and convincing based on the design of the Ahoorian monarchy, the ritual of the people's behavior with the king also is the ritual of their presence against God (Ghazi Moradi, 1389/2010: 72). For this reason, in the coming of the Shah, all must bend on their knees because the Shah is the true meaning of Yazdan (God) (Olmested, 1948, in trans by Moghadam, 1384/2005: 385). The central and main core of Achaemenid art is reflected in the nature of the king's person and everything is related to him; the minds and thoughts of the serfs should be influenced by the manifestation of his power in every moment (Champdor, ibid: 359). "In the Achaemenid pattern, the king was above social classes, whose full power was based on a feeling and that was absolute loyalty of the serfs to the ruling governer ... which represented God and was worshiped and respected as much as the divine being; the serfs from the highest officials to the commanders were all among the servants of the king without exception" (Champdor, ibid: 410-411).

As it was said before, Manual Cook has not recognized the Achaemenids Empire as a Kingdom and he has taken this word as to be more accurate about the Medes government. Benveniste also has not known the word "Shahanshahi" as a Persian word, but a word taken from the Medes language. In the ancient language, many words have been taken from Xasayasiya, in which the Austaini term "xasasra" indicated the power and the land (the world) where power is exercised on. When Darius says, "Ahuramazda, the one that donated xasaca to me," it should be understood both to mean the kingdom and the land upon which he commanded (Benveniste, 1969, 17-21). We will continue to elaborate on the

borrowing of Median terms by the Persians, but by changing their content. Here too, only the original word "xasaca" was derived from the Median language, but its meaning has been completely changed. If we look carefully at the writings of Beneveniste, he will consider the root of the word of the king (Shah), power and land as derived from the word "Xasayasiya". If the origin of the word Shahansha "Xasarsa" was Median/Kurdish, its adaptation to the words of land and power would also be Median. But in Iran, along with the change of power from the Median social contract to the divine right of kings in Pars, its meaning has also changed. The origion of the word khshathra-varirya which denoted the kingdom, as well as the city and the king, it also meant the kingdom. Further, variya also means chosen, which means the chosen king in general. According to what we said about Median state, the Shah in Medea formed, not based on the celestial legitimacy /the divine right, but on the earthly legitimacy and social contract. That is, the king of Mede and his power and the kingdom are the result of a consensus of a collection of kings and local leaders. The root of the power of the king in Mede was taken from the land (the world) and its inhabitants, i.e. from bottom to top. The meaning of the land (its inhabitants), which was the basis and source of the power of the Shah of Mede, was changed into the land where power was exercised in Iran. The kingdom which also means the word of the world (land) is rooted in word of the world in Mede. The Shah is a worldly and terrestrial concept. Through changing the legitimacy of the Median contract to the Persian divine right, the Shah takes on a metaphysical concept, and instead of deriving the root of the kingdom power in the world, he gets his power from Ahura and the sky. Therefore, the world that was the source of the king's power was transformed into a world where the power of the king was exercised on. The worldview of the Mede concerning the power refers to the earthly concept of power and the land from which power is deriven, but in the Avestan worldview, it turned into the power and the land in which power is exercised on.

Thus, unlike scholars view, with regard to the ideology and hierarchical nature of the Achaemenid community, all authority came from the king's person (ultimately Ahuramazda) (Garthwaite, *ibid*: 127). This hierarchical (Platonic justice) essence of Iranians requires the unity and obedience of Allah instead of agreement and community. The idea of the Median consensus against the Persia unity is clearly evident from the two words of Hegemataneh and Hakhamenish (Achaemenid). Hegmataneh means the place of community and consensus (Grishman, *ibid*: 116) and Hakhamenish (Achaemenid) means the idea of unity (Hinz, 1978, in trans by Rajabi, 1986/2007: 55). The difference between the two words of unity with community is the difference between the two systems of Median and the Iranians along with the transfer of power from the Medes to Iranians. The government changed from arbitrarily and judgement between people into the rule and governing over the people ⁵⁸ (Rezaei, *ibid*: 12). The common word of the kingdom should not cause us to ignore the structural differences between the two systems of the Medes and the Pars and the two patterns of contract and conquest. Kingdom in the Mede has not accompanied the concept of Farne/Khoraine or Fareh Izadi (God's glory). As Justi rightly pointed out Farne is a Persian word not a Median one (Justi, cited in Widengern, 1968, in trans by Farhang, 1377/1998: 162).

We said that the two elements of the divine right and Parsism or Persianism's dynesty (family) are the basis of the Achaemenids ideology in gaining legitimacy. Wiesehofer writes: "The Achaemenids emphasized on the word "Persian" more than the word "Aryans", and referred to their relation to Persia in the difference with the Medes" (Wiesehofer, 2001: 13). Parsism is wellknown in the inscriptions of Darius which we will focus on it later. Nevertheless, is it possible to infer the Persianism veins in Cyrus despite his interest-orientated character?

Pasargadae is the main Achaemenid palace in Fars, and its name is derived from Pars, the name of the tribe of Cyrus. Pasargadae was personally and

politically important to him -Cyrus. Even after the construction of the Perspolis, Pasargadae remained an important criterion for the legitimacy of the government as well as a ceremonial center for coronations" (Garthwaite, *ibid*: 101). What did all the significance of the Pasargadae come from which even the next Achaemenids kings, in spite of the larger and more impressive palaces such as Persepolis, Susa and Babylon, and ... still crowned there? Strabon says: "Cyrus praised Pasargada so much because it was in this place that he had made the last battle that he triumphed over Isthvigo (Astiag) ... and it put the Asian empire in his hand; thus, he built Pasargadae palace in order to survive the memory of that event" (Book 15, chapter 3, paragraph 8, cited in Briant, *ibid*: 132). Thus, Pasargadae, the capital and the symbol of the Achaemenid Empire was constructed in honor of the victory over the Medes and more importantly, it is rooted in the word of Pars meaning the emphasis on tribal/ethnic lineage of Persians that gave credibility to "the Achaemenid tribal (ethnic -Qaderi) origion and the past of Cyrus" (Garthwaite, *ibid*:101).

Therefore, as the foundation of the Achaemenid Empire/Achaemenid kingdom/Iran and the idea of the founding of the capital (Pasargadae) was formed based on the negation and destruction of the Medes and the survival of their memory, the ideology of the Iranians/Achaemenids legitimacy developed based on the negation of the ideology of the state/king-dom of the Medes. They referred to the Zarathustra's royal parishness and legitimacy and they founded an oligarchic and a hierarchical system in contrast to versatile and antiaristocratic justice of the Medes. This does not mean that they have deliberately made such a plan but conceptually, the basis of the Persians/Iranian nation/empire/ideology, and ... were developed depending on the rejection and making the Medes as "the other". Contrary to the viewpoint of some scholars, the Iranian empire system has not only been in the continuation or evolution of the Mede kingdom system, but it has been shaped in digression of it in every aspect. The whole empire and political system of the Iranians/Achaemenids is a

pure modeling of the Mesopotamian and Assyrian political intellect. The concepts (not the words) of Fera-e Izadi (God's glory), the role of AhuraMazda, the representative of the Shah from behalf of God, the hierarchy and ... are originated from Mesopotamia and the Semitic race, as the Persian language (the structure and not its Median words) is rooted in the Aramaic and Semitic language.

With the triumph of Pars over Mede, Eunice (the god of dreams) entered the heart of the people, and Dika (God of hierarchical justice) won over Eros. With the triumph of Cyrus over the Medes, Zeus swallowed Mettis, AsenKherad was abolished by Goshan-e of SerodKherad. People deprived MedeA of monarchy forever because of their fears of his magic, just as Zahak/Azhydak was deprived of the history due to the fears of his spells. Percius the son of Zeusz killed cursed snaky-hair Medosa with the help of the temple of Athena and the god of Hermes. Zolqarenin destroyed Gog and Magog. The short period of Mede rule is a symbol of the short rule of Dionyses (Zagros) and the magician's Medes. One was destroyed by the Titans, and the other via the magic fears and Medes were also forever deprived of ruling which was a radiation of the historical deprivation of the Kurds from having a government (a sentence is also narrated from prophet Mohammad in this regard). The oath of Cyrus' loyalty to Astiag was a symbol of Yasoon's oath to Medes which was broken as the result of the fear of the Medes nobles from the people or Zahak. Furthermore, Medes/Kurds are like a snake or serpent which guided Eve and Adam to eat the forbidden fruit (lust and knowledge), but the snake itself was condemned to misery forever. The snake was cursed by God to deprive it of his legs and to eternally be condemned to attach to the ground. Killing the snake became the essence of its relationship with man kind. Likewise, kurds were condemned and deprived of the government, and the essence of their relationship with the Arabic/Turkish ration has been nothing but repression and negation, and it has been "overwatching" in the Iranian ration in addition to suppression and negation. The Kurd Prometheus

gave freedom as gift to history, but Cyrus and Persians gave bread and gains to it.

Iranian Monarchy: The Continuation of the Mesopotamian Pattern, not the Median

Let's look at the pattern of Iranian monarchy being influenced by Assyria and Elam/Mesopotamia and not from Median Cyrus' own language before presenting the theories of historians. The broken piece of Cyrus's cylinder was rebuilt by "Burger" in Nice museum. In this text, Cyrus explicitly considers the Assyria BaniPal, the great king of Assyria, as his political model (Anzeig von c. B.; Walker.Iran.1972). ⁶² Cyrus sought to connect himself with the previous rulers of Mesopotamia after the discovery of an inscription of Ashur-e Banipal (Kuhrt, 2007: 51). Moreover, Cyrus knows Mardok, the God of Mesopotamia as his own God his kingdom as from his mercy: "Mordok ... examined all the lands, all of them ... the just princes and he found the one according to his will, took Cyrus' hand the King (Shah) of Anshan and he Announced his name and called her as the King all over the world ... "(Cyrus Cylinder cB). ⁶³ Cyrus describes himself as the king of Anshan in his cylinder. Thus, "Cyrus liked to manifest himself as the heir of the kings of Elamite (who has a Babylonian political culture, Qaderi) similar to his predecessors in the mountainous country of Anshan" (Briant, ibid: 139). Cyrus decorated his palace with the symbolic Assyrian-Babylonian statues (Hents, ibid: 117).

Moreover, the most basic concept of Iran's political wisdom, namely, Fara-e Izadi (Gods' supremacy) and the image of Ahura Mazda in the form of the Eagle wings, which presents the circle of legitimacy and power to the King, are taken from the Assyrian/Babylonian civilization. "In Elamite religion, the gods and kings have a special forces known as "Kidden", a divinely or magical force; thus, it is likely that Fare is the product of cultural exchange with Elam and

Mesopotamia, not Aryan . . . The name of this force is Melmmu in the Assyrian, that is the same Elamite Kidden and Iranian Fares" (Bahar, 1377/1998: 142). The Iranian ruling system accepted not only monotheism, but also transformed the absolute and sacred Assyrian power into the form of a holy and absolute Persian Kingdom. If the Assyrian king lost the grace of God, Melmmu also would escape from him. It was the case in Iran too, like Jamshid. The cos-tumes of the Assyrian King were not differentin any ways from the costumes of the gods. "In the Achaemenids and Sassanids, the Shah and God also dresse the same. There was a particu-lar relationship between the Assyrian king and God such as Iran, which Darius was chosen by Ahura . . . The Assyrian king was the great cleric . . . In Iran, the king was aboveall he classes and the clergy and the king was the priest . . ." (Bahar, *ibid*: 164-65). The content of the Achaemenid inscriptions is similar to and derived from the rules of Hammurabi (Bahar, *ibid*: 410).

The images of Ahura Mazda are also adapted from Assyrian images (Shahbazi, *ibid*: 341), which gives the ring of legitimacy to the Assyrian kings. This winged structure that is defined as the symbol of Ahura Mazda isrelated to Egyptian Horus borrowed by the Assyrians, and then reached Persia (Yamauchi, 1937, in trans by Pezeshk, 1390/2011: 491). The influence of Assyria and Mesopotamia on the Iranian political ration is also well illustrated in the art of Persepolis. The winged male bulls over the gates of Persepolis were the guardians of the Assyrian palace that inspired Iranian artists (Razi, 1382: 242; Boyce, 1982, in trans by San'atizada, 1381/2002: 93). Also, the lion hunting of the Iranian kings is the result of the inspiration of the Assyrian culture (Boyce, *ibid*: 152). Lion is a devil and evil-natured beast in the heavenly religions of both Zoroastrians and Assyrians" (Boyce, *ibid*: 157). We will later compare ancient Iranian works with those of Mede, here only to make clear that Iranian culture is influenced by Mesopotamia and against Median, I indicate that in the documents of Assyrian/Mesopotamia and Persia, the bull has always been sacred and the lion has always been cursed. As the result, Darius the king and the kings of

Assyria have always been picturized as hunting or squashing lions in the colorful pictures of their palaces. However, the stony lion is one of the few works that has remained of the Medes. The main mission of Median god meaning Mithra – then, we will pay more attention to it- is slaying bulls. Therefore, Persian, Assyrian, and Mesopotamian cultures have considered the bull as holy and the lion as cursed, while the Median culture have regarded the lion as sacred and it killed the bulls.

Furthermore, contrary to Herodotus's account in considering the Achaemenids empire to be the continuation of the Median monarchy, and also the Greeks themselves in regarding the Achaemenid invasion of Greece as Median wars, written and archeological sources do not confirm Median invasive foreign policy and and their centralized kingdom (Muson, 2009: 460 -461; Helm, 1981: 86). The Assyrian cuneiform resources regarded the Mede's rule as numerous and scattered with local leaders (Liverani, 2003: 17). It is hard for us to believe that a Median multiple government model was the model or the foreground of the Pars imperialism (Munson, Ibid). The invasion of the Medes was only against the powers like Assyrian that did not recognize them and they would conquer their land after the repulsion of Assyrian danger, the Mede made peace treaty with the powers of the region, such as Babylon, Lidia and the others. It was with the advent of the Persians and the rule of the Achaemenids, which peace and balance were breached, and all ancient civilizations were destroyed. Indeed, Cyrus was the reproduction of Assyrian imperialism, that would invade other lands and territories, and would turn their resources and their lands into the personal property of his armies and he would take their people as slaves for the members of his army.

Zeus and Mardok did not worry about the coming of Cyrus because their followers could confidently come to their temples (Champdor, ibid: 416). In all three heavenly books, Cyrus is praised by the God. Cyrus is the executor of the desires of Babylon and Jehovah (FarshadMehr, 1385: 220). “Achaemenid rulers

in Egypt gave the Egyptian gods their due respect. On the contrary, when they conquered Greece, they burned all the temples and there is no evidence that they sought to reconcile with the gods whom they despised their temples. In addition, here is no evidence that the Persians have ever learned the name of Zeus, the Apollon, or Hera, etc" (Champdor, *ibid*: 210). "Darius who revered the Babylonian and Egypt temples completely and was tolerant "destroyed all the temples of Mithraism" (Hinz, *ibid*: 371). Cyrus and Darius tolerance with Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, and their strictness against Mithra and the Greek temples shows the cultural homogeneity with Babylon and Egypt and the difference and antithesis against the Median and Greece culture. Thus, the Achaemenids tolerance has been shown in certain cases: if tolerance had been against the Jews, it would have been because of the similarity between the Jews and Ahura Mazda (Hinz, *ibid*: 113). In case tolerance had been against the temples of Egypt and Babylon, it would have been due to the similarity of their political and cultural structures which were based on the heavenly legitimacy and Fare Izadi (God's glory) and However, they not only had no tolerance versus their difference with Median Mithra (we will come to it then) which was based on the social contract and the earthly legitimacy and also versus the Greece which was democracy-oriented, but also, they destroyed them all.

The superior signifier of Iran

How Iran was constructed in both classical and modern historiography?

Abstract

Modern historiography emerged with the claim of demythologizing history. However, it led to the ideologization and conceptualization of history in which many small ethnicities and ritual were eliminated or assimilated in the Great narrative. As a result, a new myth of history was produced because of the political and cultural requirement of the present, in which the past was made as a weapon regarding the future for the present. Therefore, which was constructed as a past, was just a presence future. One of the new fictions stories which were produced in Western historiography is the concept of Great Iran, where stretches from Egypt to India and fame to being multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi- ethnicities land to what extend its culture is bigger than its territory. Moreover, it was plural and the cradle of human right and rationalism which was destroyed by Arab and Turks respectively. This article aims to analyze to what extent does this view is corresponded with Iranian History and how was constructed which many researchers are not able to think out of the box. Iran is a political concept and, historically was just an empire like Mongol and Turks empire, however, it has been depoliticized and has taken on the cultural and territorial aspect. The naturalization of the Iranian political concept is secularized form of the great sign of God, which has always been and will remain. Furthermore, Like God, the signifier superior of Iran, involves everything and nothing could be imaginable outside of it. This God (Iran significant) is good and all evil events that have happened were because of devil rebellions in other ethnicities which do not exist by themselves, it is merely the lack of God's power that in political words become understandable in form of power of the single-ethnic state.

Introduction:

Iran is a political concept that has nothing to do with this territory and culture which is called Iran. However, it has been depoliticized and took shaped cultural and territorial aspect. The naturalization of Iran political concept is, secular form of God which has always been and will remain. Furthermore, Like God, the signifier superior of Iran, involves everything and nothing could be imaginable outside of it. This God (Iran significant) is good and all evil events that have happened were because of devil rebellions which do not exist by themselves, it is merely the lack of God's power that in political words become understandable in form of power of the single-ethnic state. For instance, in terms of time, they believe that the arrival of Iranians in this land dates back to the first millennium BC, However, the iranianized other civilizations such as Elam, Mad, Mitanni, and... which were before the arrival of the Aryans and can sometimes be traced back several thousand years before. Furthermore, in terms of concept The Iranian religion, Zoroastrianism, was in opposition to Mithra which was badged to Ahriman/devil by Zoroaster and was a ritual of indigenous people for more than two thousand years before the emergency of Aryans, even so, they included them in Iranian culture and civilization. There are not any logical reasons to include them in Iranian culture unless that the Persian empire conquered their land late as well as Persian religion destroyed and confiscated them. However, it can not be a satisfactory reason to encompass them to a Great signifier of Iran concept because, these lands and cultures were occupied late by Arabs, Mongols, Turks too. If the size of military occupation is a reason for the cultural allegation, the Mongol empire was bigger than all. If the influence is criteria, Arab culture, Islam, have had more influence and stability than Iran/Persia. Iranian-Persians people were one of the Invading relatives like Turks and Mongol who conquered this land and called it Iran in the time of Modern State, however, they do not own the culture and land.

Thus, first of all, we need to denaturalize of Iran concept and bring back political accept to it which is historical concept not metaphysical. To do that, we have to genealogy and archeology the concept of Iran, where come from and how has been constructed.

The myth of the plural Aryan Iran, was constructed in modern Iranology as the result of the British colonial policies in giving legitimacy to their own empire, who developed the theory of Indo-European languages and the Aryan race, from one hand, and as the result of the Orientalists' reaction to AnquetilDuperron's book introducing the real character of Zoroaster to the westerners, on the other hand. With the help of genealogy of Iranology in classical and modern historiography, we will understand that the concepts like the cultural Iran, multi-ethnic Iran, Iranian being of the non-Fars nations specifically the, the

Aryan race, the Zoroastrianism, the manifesto of Cyrus' human right, and ... are not expressing the realities of Iran land but they are the constructed truths of the westerners that the Iranian historians in developed and spread through imitating the western orientalists for satisfying their Iranian/Persian nationalism sensations. Moreover, they established these views with the emergence of the Persian one- ethnic state and they made them internalized among the individuals' minds of the Kurds, Arabs and Baloch people under the title of being Iranian.

The modern historiography was also associated with the myths of Aryan racism. In which, from one side, European countries did lacked a historical and a civilized base from their owns and they tried to construct the Aryan prophets and civilizations for the sake of their own past in contrast to the Semitic religions and prophets. In the other side, the colonial policies of Britain in giving legitimacy to his ruling sovereignty caused the construction

of the Aryan race illusion and the glory of the Iran Aryan civilization to legitimize its empire.

Thus, the Iranians had this chance once more that the natural situation of Iran became a symbol of the human rights and pluralism. Whereas, the written history is only a sort of narration, and who has been the narrator has an important influence on the reinterpretation of history. The past is not in our access and there are just some historical manifestations (Selden, 1393/2014: 163). These manifestations are the product of the language structure, which they, in turn, are counted as the ideological products or the cultural constructions (Abrams, 1993: 249). No knowledge of the past is free from interpretation (Bennet, 1995: 94). The history is always being made and it is prepared for rewriting and changing (ibid: 93), the historical texts are a reflection of power relations (Bertens, 2001, 179) which political reasons of presence toward the future produce the past. The emplotment has been shaped in classical history because of ignorance and in modern age as a result of ideology. In the classical historiography the base of most of these historians' information is the king worshipping myths which the father of the historians has given it a scientific appearance. In the era of modern, the promulgation of Aryan racism myths has had a great impact on constructing the ideal history of Iran and the personalities such as Cyrus and Zoroaster as well. In what follows, I will refer to the ways in which the Iranian history such as the hero of the Zoroastrian Enlightenment and the human rights of Cyrus was constructed in both modern and classical historiography.

theoretical Bases:

Roland Barthes considers the myth as a "politically discarded" speech, meaning that the myth turns a historical intent into nature and immortality. As the ideology of the bourgeoisie is characterized by escaping the name of the

bourgeois, myth is based on the loss of the historical quality of things: things in myth lose the memory of their own creation. What the world gives to myth is a historical and certain historical fact that comes into the language through the mode of production or human action. In return, the myth gives a natural image of this reality; a kind of magic occurs in which the reality is gone and its history is evacuated and the nature is sprinkled instead. Therefore, the function of myth is to hollow out reality. Myth does not deny things, its function is, conversely, to talk about things. Simply put, it refines them, makes them innocent turns them into immortality. The myth attracts complexities and organizes a world without contradiction. However, defining myth as politicsridden speech, Barthes believes that there is a speech that stands against myth, that is, a speech that remains political. Speech of a productive man: Everywhere man speaks for the transformation of reality and not for changing it into an image, the myth is impossible. Hence, a one hundred percent revolutionary language cannot be a mythical language. The revolution remains political both at the beginning and at the very end, not as a speech myth, which at first is political, and at the end natural (Barthes, 1957,34). Therefore, for Barthes, myth is not just the productions of the old societies. The mentality of today's societies has also an astonishing ability to make the myth of everyday social and political events. It can be said in Eagleton words that myths are the ideologies of pre- industrial societies, or the ideologies are the myths of industrial societies. Both the myth and the ideology are symbolic semantic worlds with social functions and implications (Eagleton, 1991,43).

What we were trying to offer in this section was the passage from the eternal memory to the mental idol. The metaphysical concepts that mankind had lived with for centuries were nothing but the mental idiosyncrasies and the facilitators of the wheel of power and the consolidation of domination. The sacred concepts of Iran or Greater Iran, cultural Iran, unity and ... are not the eternal memories we have drawn within it, but the discourse and ideology of

domination of the dominant ethnic group of Fars because of the modern mythology of Aryan racism which was constructed in the 18th century. In other words, the Great Iran concept which involved all ethnicities and religions is not abstracted from the past, but it has taken shape in presence as an Ideology for the future. Therefore, what we know about Iranian history is not history and memory but amnesia with the result in deconstruction and inexistence of other cultures and non-Fars ethnicities or their digestion in the superior sign of Iran. The political implication of that is the dominance of the single-ethnic state of Persian and remained steady non-Fars ethnicities subordinations.

Iranology in the modern era:

How did Zoroaster become different from the other prophets and how was he illustrated as the hero of intellectualism and enlightenment?

The spirit of the great Iran that has been recognized as the cradle of enlightenment and human rights is Zarathustra and Cyrus. Therefore, we occasionally deal with the construction of Zarathustra as the hero of the Enlightenment, which is a model of the construction of Iran as the cradle of civilization.

Unlike the German philosophers such as Hegel, who aimed at the interpretation and rationalization of religion, the enlightenment age was developed against religion and church in France. Voltaire and the other intellectuals of the age of enlightenment targeted their direct criticism at the church and Christianity. They outcried their complaints in address to the church and Christ: "we must decapitate (behead) this monster out of his body and ...". The myths of the Aryan racism were simultaneously forming up in that era. The western intellectuals were attempting at constructing an Aryan

religion in contrast to the Semitic religions of Jewish and Christianity. In this time, Thomas Hyde was the first Westerner who published a book about Zoroastrianism without travel to the East (Iran and India), the original place of Zoroastrianism and without having any original manuscript of Zoroastrian holy book at hand in 1700 in which he called Zoroastrianism as monotheism religion and he considered the polytheism view about Zoroastrianism as a distortion of the Greek historians (Boyce, 1381/2002: 228). Content with the discovery of Hyde who bolded an Aryan prophet against the Semitic prophets, the enlightenment philosophers defined Zoroaster as the hero of philosophy and the philosopher of the lights in line with him (Shaibani, cited in Dehbashi, 1388/2009: 511). Zoroaster became the hero of the light for the philosophers. The reason for the interest of Voltaire, the philosopher of the light, in Zoroaster was that Voltaire "saw Zoroaster as the oldest reformer and teacher of the ethics" (ibid: 526).

Then, Anquetil Duperron asked them for researching the Zoroaster religion. They promised Anquetil the support of the minister and king's representative in Indian Company and Academy, and While returning to France, they welcomed him warmly but this warm welcome was followed by a terrible incident. All the England and German researchers, orientalists and encyclopedia writers turned against him (ibid: 543). "Anquetil proved to be the first person who has translated Avesta and has given the first manuscript to the royal library ... the rests were subsidiary and counterfeit. Anquetil introduced Zoroastrianism as a polytheism, back warded and infected with superstition religion in opposition to Hyde's views (Boyce, 2002: 229). His research not only blemished the ideal image which Hyde depicted from Zoroaster as an ethical monotheism prophet without any rituals but also, he presented Zoroastrianism as polytheism with customs, rites and sacrifice. Therefore, the western Aryan intellectuals who were ebullient about

discovering an intellectual prophet against the Semitic prophets targeted their attacks at Anquetil.

William James, one of the first theorists of the Indo-European languages wrote: "the clumsiest imposter people cannot write such nonsense words, like Anquetil's book, about Zoroaster. The Zoroaster might not have had the common sense... , or the book might not have been his own book ..., then the book ascribed to him is the expression of lies and concoctions, you have deceived the people and you deserve the contempt of the society. You lack the knowledge and your work is absurd and useless (Shaibani, *ibid*: 546). William Jones' bitter reaction was supported by the English orientalists and he admitted his accusations in 1789. Stating that there has remained no version of the Iranian primary language, John Richardson concorded with Anquetil, 1777. Meiners published three momentous about Zoroaster. There, he announced that the books Anquetil has brought it from India are neither from Zoroaster nor from the ancient age (*ibid*: 546). Flixie Radal repeated the same Jones' abuses against Anquetil. He considered it a mere illusional book composed based on the any non-existent manuscripts nowhere. Hoa, the bishop of Oransh said that Zoroaster was a legendary personality, how could he write a book? Anquetil succumbed or gave in. He resisted alone believing in his work. The encyclopedia members were also among the opponents (*ibid*: 548). Diderot in the article of "the Persians" wrote: "Zand is not the composition of Zoroaster but it is related to the Ozip time, the bishop of Caesarea", Shaob writes in this way: "then, the angers and hatreds of the English oriontialists, who were the obvious enemies of Anquetil and they expected him to have brought a weapon against religion, turned into the sever animosity when they realized that he has sought a weapon in favour of the religion (Shaob, cited in Shaibani, *ibid*: 548).

Writing an article named "Zoroaster in philosophical sphere" in 1764, Voltaire came to the scene of this argument and he wrote ironically in address

to Anquetil: "the old Doctor Hyde was more aware of the Mazdayasna religion than the passengers of the future and he had found out about the Iranian language in the Cyrus time in the west of England (ibid: 549). Voltaire saw the Anquetil's writing as the imagination. Therefore, the members of the encyclopedia cannot consider a man whose discovery of Zoroaster cannot be utilized as a tool to deteriorate and remove Jesus and Moses more than a traitor and a naïve (ibid: 550). They had nothing to do with the origin of Zoroaster; Zoroaster was only an instrument for them to destroy Moses and Jesus and they constructed Ahura of Zoroaster against the Evil of the Jesus. Millen ... regarded Anquetil as a wild man in 1798 ... who cannot be approached. He has the Rousseau's distrust and Diogenes' violence simultaneously (ibid: 550). Diderot wrote: Do not believe ... this matter Anquetil says that he has endured the hardship of the journey and being far away from the family just for the sake of the truth ... he is seditious and ... (ibid: 550).

The members of the France encyclopedia did not defend and support Anquetil against English critical attacks at all. Describing Zand in a letter in the republic of literature, he wrote: "this is a three-volume untidy mass which nobody could read and understand". In line with Jones, Grimm condemned Anquetil and considered him as deserving the same sharp criticisms of Jones (ibid: 551). Therefore, the western intellectuals, who expected Zoroaster as a tool to demolish the Semitic religions and Anquetil did not fulfil their expectations, attacked Anquetil acidly and called him as evil, wild and twaddle. They were still trying to hold the image if Zoroaster as an Aryan prophet against Moses, Jesus and Mohammad. They constructed an advanced and intellectual religion from Zoroastrianism in contrast to the Semitic religions. Further, the Iranian intellectuals like Pourdawood, Dostkhah and ... imposed the ideology of the western intellectuals in an imitative manner on their history instead of acquiring correct knowledge about the history, religion and the culture of their own nation.

However, this positive image about Zoroaster could not stay for a long time since Anquetil has put its own impact and his resources were more original than that of the others. Herder, Tichson and Hiren defended him. Herder said: "before Anquetil, everybody was speaking of Zoroaster but they had not read his books ... Anquetil's book must be studied by any reader from every nation". Burnouf and Michelle also voiced their support for Anquetil (ibid: 657). Since the criticisms and attacks of the intellectuals towards Anquetil and the boycott of him and his books could not prevent the influence of his writings, they resorted to another trick to preserve the purity of the Aryan prophet: they made the dustbin of the Median Maguses.

As Voltaire's expectation to find support from Anquetil was not fulfilled, he lost hope in him and he called his book as an untidy and hateful mass towards Zoroaster. He, in line with Diderot and ..., considered the religion of the ancient Iranians as an instinctive and logical religion which has been deteriorated as the result of the obscurantism and the bigotry of the Maguses (553). Thus, the myth of the distortion of the Zoroaster religion by the Maguses was formed. They separated the old parts of Avesta, the Gathas, from the rest of Avesta while what was assumed as the old Zoroastrianism Avesta is mainly the construction of the western researchers from the 19th century onwards (Skiro in Curtis, 1390/2011: 76). They called the Maguses as the corruptors of the Zoroastrianism disregarding all the historical documents that the Maguses were the original Zoroastrian clerics and the protectors of it. It was the first time in history that the Maguses and Zoroaster became separated not as the result of the historical research but the power of the Aryanism ideology. Even though, Herodotus had said the the Maguses were Median, he had not made any indication concerning the contradiction of the Maguses with Zoroaster religion and all the historian's contemporary with Herodotus unanimously agree that the Maguses were Zoroastrian and Zoroaster was the chief of the Maguses.

The reason behind the formation of the distortion theory of Zoroastrianism by the Maguses was the revelation of the Zoroastrianism real nature by Duperron. The researchers wanted to acquit Zoroaster religion and put the responsibility of the violence and backwardness of this religion on the shoulders of the Maguses. William Jones, whose writings was a reaction against Duperron 's real image of Zoroaster and ancient Iran, was the first person who constructed the theory of Indo-European languages. The wave of Iraneology was basically developed in contrast to and for the negation of Depron' s ideas about Zoroaster and Iran; hence, the plural Iran was constructed along with the philosophers and the saviors of Zoroaster and Cyrus and the normal situation of Iran changed into a civil Iran with a past magnificent civilization. Nonetheless, neither Zoroaster was different from prophets like Moses, Jesus and Mohammad, nor Cyrus and Daruis from the kings like Taimor and Changiz nor Achaemenid system form Safavids. The constructed truth of the Iranian world is a latter form molded on the old matter.

This issue that the Iranian intellectuals regard the ancient Iran as the symbol and the origin of the human right, and the unity in plurality, and Cyrus as the symbol of freedom, and Zoroaster as the symbol of wisdom, is rooted in the old myths of king-worshipping and the new myths of Aryanism and has no scientific value. As the old historians like Xenphon, who was the student of Socrates, the greatest enemy of democracy and the fan of the monarchy, expressed their hates towards the Greek democracy through praising Iranian kingdom, the new historians like Gobino in the same way as Xenphon were disappointed of the racial unity of the Aryans as seen in the war between Proses and Franks and their racial analysis of the French revolution, which they considered it as the rite of low class people against the superior race of the Franks which were Germans. These issues caused them to present and bold the theory of the greater glorious ancient Iran and Aryanism. What we said about Zoroaster before is quiet true about the history of the whole Iran;

besides, this matter that the ancient Iran as the symbol of human rights, freedom and pluralism was the construction of the western racist intellectuals and its copying of the Iranian archaism ideologues taken from Feroghi, Pourdawod, Taqizada, Minoie up to

Shojadin Shafa, Abdolhosainz Zarinkob, and Fridon Adamiat. This ideology was the direct product of the British colonialism, the Disraeli's policy in giving legitimacy to the British empire, a reaction against Semitic religions, and the writings like the critical views of Anquetil Duperron. Because of anti-Semitic/Islamic wave, the involved all paganism ritual like Mithras which were before Zoroaster and Persian migration to the Iranian culture.

Sir John Malakom founded the analytic and theoretical base of archaic nationalism to the history of Iran. Sir John Malakom was the broker of concluding the colonial contracts in the era of Fateh Ali Shah-e (king of) Qajar and he was an extremely anti-Islam person. Perhaps he is the first who has presented the foundations of the delusions like "the glory of ancient Iran", "the destruction of the Iran sciences by the Muslims", and this point that Islam has caused the backwardness of Iran. His main aim of presenting these ideas was to make a distance between the Iranians and their Islamic identity through highlighting a delusional and badekess issue called "Aryan Identity". The western Iraneological studies culminated in 1970s at the same time of the reactions against Perdon and which was concurrent with the premiership of Disraeli who was the theoretician of the British empire in the world. He posed up this view that the large British empire cannot rule out merely based on coercion and violence. Thus, people must have real penchant (inclination) for the great England. He carried out this plan through fabricating ideology which was the same ideology of Aryanism.

However, things did not end in here, the Disraeli's policies and the Aryan racism atmosphere in the west only constructed a bright and intellectual history of Iran and not an Iranian, national concentrated, and supranational

governance. Moreover, this time it was the turn of German's colonial policies which constructed the idea of the national sovereignty and Iranian government. Despite the rapid economic growth, German lacked colonial influence in the Middle East after the Berlin congress. Due to the weakness of the Qajaria, the dominated countries (Iran) as the bridge between the west and the east were under the influence of England and Russia, two of the German opponents.

Germany was trying to free the dominated lands out of the control of England and Russia with the help of the orientalists like Herzfeld so as to establish his influence in that region. Since Germany did not have the possibility of carrying out the military operation, it presented a plan to formulate the national sovereignty and a central government in Iran. The prerequisite for the formation of a central national government was the propagation of the idea of the national sovereignty and nationalism by which they constructed the history of Iran by sending the orientalists like Herzfeld; it was a national history with the powerful governance of Cyrus and Daruis and with a national army which had under its dominance from India up to Egypt. This was a kind of national history with the powerful empire of Cyrus and Daruis and Ardashir and with a national army which was destroyed by the Arabs and also with Ghajaria that was a shameful badge on the forehead of the pre-Islamic governments. The promulgation of nationalism must not have been restricted to the Fars areas since the northern part was under the control of Russia and the southern and western part were under the ruling of England at that time? thus, nationalism must have involved all the constructed borders of other ethnic groups so as to decrease the influence of Russia and England. In this way, they constructed the idea of the national sovereignty of the super ethnic Iran; they formulated the thinking foundation of the modern state of Reza Shah and the thinking nutrition of nationalists like Pirnia, Feroghi,

Akhonzada, Jalaladin-e Farsi, and ... through constructing the old history of Arya and propagating Iranian nationalism.

It was for the same reason that Herzfeld proposed the promulgation of the word "Iran" instead of Pars to Reza Shah so that the central government could be extended to the dominated lands and the German-advocating central government could end the infiltration of the England and Russia. This led to the construction of Iran, the national history of Iran, that is, Shahnama, the national army of Cyrus and Daruis, the enlightenment hero of Zoroaster, the Iranian being of Zoroaster, and ... in the modern historiography. Thus, the modern government of Reza Shah was rooted in spreading the ideas that were constructed by orientalists like Herzfeld commissioned based on the colonial interests of Germany and the nationalist's supporters of Reza Shah fostered it and made it bas the legitimate-giving to the national state (Jenkin, 2011: 7-14). The national Iranian sovereignty and nationalism necessitated a soul, the soul that would stay beyond the failures and political fluctuations; hence, Herzfeld put up Zoroaster as the Iranian national soul in the narrative centre of Iran (ibid). Herzfeld and his archaeological work as Jenkins said, were of great interest to the government that emerged in Iran.

The emergence of a modern Persian mono-ethnic state in Iran was a reaction to ethnic movements from Kurdistan and Azerbaijan to Khuzestan and the north, with the system of government and education tried to unify and Persianize other non-Persian nations. Iran was a hegemonic toll to deconstructed, assimilated and subordinated them under a mono-Persian ethnic state. "Reza Shah's nationalism treatment with the locals was in a way as if they were dealing with an occupied land ... there was discrimination against non-Persian provinces. All provincial and town governors and ... were chosen among the Persian language speakers and it was similar to the treatment of the whites with the Indians that was not special to Reza Shah. "He became the executor of the viewpoint of the modernist nationalists' elites, that

he had converted to them" (ibid: 435-436). There was widespread discrimination against all provinces in favour of Tehran and all non-Farsi provinces in the interests of Persian speakers (Katozian, 1379/2000: 436). Nazism and Nazi Germany became an official cultural pattern from Reza Shah's reign (Katozian, 1380/2001: 236).

Classical historians:

the reason for the idealization of Iran in classical historiography was the source of the information of Greek historians which was not based on research and observation but the acquisition of the oral information from the dominant Persians. The Persian aristocrats, as the main information source of the Greek historians, have fed them their Shah (king) worshipping myths as the real history from the angle of their love and hatred and their enmity with the Medes and the Greek historians have sealed them as the science and the history.

for example, the subject of the Iranian Medes. in fact, in the time of the hegemony and dominance of the Kurds to the land of the Mede, which later became known as Iran along with the dominance of the emigrant Persians, the science of history (Greek historiography) was not formed; The science of history (historiography) appeared simultaneously along with the Persians dominance on the Median territory. In fact, the word of Iran and the Persians dominance was ingrained in the Mede land and it stayed as eternal in the sovereignty of the constructed truth. When the Medes were the original inhabitants of this land and its name was the Mede, the historiography had not been formed. That was the reason why the names of the original Mede got into the abyss of oblivion and the Iranians/Persians names, in the time of the Persian ruling which became simultaneous with the development of the historiography science, stamped its seal on the history. Because of the historical coincidence of the development of the science of history with the

Kurds being under the Persians dominance, the Kurds have always been condemned to be at the margin (brink) of the history and politics and their marginalization became eternal in the dominance of the truth. The contemporary historical research was also derived from the works of the Greek historians and for this reason, the Persians were introduced as the main owners of civilization and politics and the Kurds were considered as its branches and margins. That is why the rise of historiography was the sunset of the Kurds.

The Greek historiography, unlike today, was not based on research and investigation but it was only based on the oral data that they would get from the Persians themselves. As the result, the land, that was the cradle of civilization with the Mede/kurd residents, was called the land of the Persians, and later Iran. However, the lack of the Median concepts before the Persians coming to power does not mean the lack of the Median/Kurdish content. Unfortunately, because of the political governance of the Pars on the Mede and the confiscation of the Median culture, language and works, the Persians destroyed the whole Median resources, inscriptions, symbols, and traces. Thus, on the one hand, they hid the roots of their political violence and ethnic domination, and on the other hand, as they were immigrants' tribes lacking any culture and civilization, they tried to confiscate the language and the culture of the Medes in history. This same strategy became the source of the information for Greek historians.

The time these materials were written is simultaneous with the codification of the science of history. It was the period of the Persians sovereignty and the Medes decline. The time when the science of history came into being, the Kurds were politically marginalized; hence, they were driven to the brinks of the context of history. Therefore, the roots of the violence of the Persian sovereignty and territorial legitimacy of the Median sovereignty cannot be deduced from the recorded texts since this incident traces back to a more distant time than the era of the Greek historiography. The structure of the

Herodotus text, which we will come to it below, does not have a structural difference with the Bistoun inscription which was written from the language of the ruling ethnic group who is only one side of the conflict. Since Herodotus nourished the history with the legitimacy-giving ideology of the Persian sovereignty as the science of the history, the myth, as Roland Barthes says that it illustrates the narrations as innocent, replaced the history. Which source has Herodotus, the father of the historians, accessed his information from that has become as the source for other historians after him and even as the basis for the notes of the outstanding contemporary historians?

Herodotus and Xenophon began recording history several years after founding the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus and Darius. Philosophers such as Plato have gotten their knowledge of Iran from them. But what were the resources that Herodotus and Xenophon utilised? Where have the stories of the law-abiding of Daruis and the human rights of Cyrus been derived from?

This story is rooted in the Persian king-worshipping myths which Herodotus gave a scientific/historical perspective to it for the first time. The source of Herodotus' information about the history of Iran and the Mede were the Iranians themselves like the descendants of seven anti-Iranian aristocrats or Persophilia like the descendants of Harpag (Aliev, 1388/2009: 29; Cook, Cambridge, 1387/2008: 230-240; Reinhart, *ibid*: 240). Herodotus himself also admitted to have gotten information from the Persians: "In this case (the story of Cyrus), I follow that group of the Iranian writers whose aims have not been the glorification of Cyrus' con-quests, but they have stated the absolute truth" (Herodotus, 1387/2008: 76). "The miserable father of the historians has thought that he has expressed a theory that had absolute truth, while he has never expressed historical facts, he has quoted the legend of Kianians and he has brought the legend into the form of the history" (Herzfeld, *ibid*: 46; Safa, 1384/2005: 39). He was not aware that the narration which he considered to

be closer to the wisdom is the remnant of the Iranian myth which has heard from Parsian (Safa, *ibid*: 40). Therefore, the kind of character which has been presented from Cyrus and Pars is not an actual/scientific and unbiased view but it a copy of the myths and Shah-worshipping mentality of the Iranians themselves. Herodotus was mesmerized by the Persians and he confirmed their information, which the Pars' elites put in his disposal and that information was not taken from the culture of the people but it was the reflection of the ideology of the Fars elite (Munson, 2009: 457). The source of the information were the Persians themselves, and his information was gotten neither directly nor they had any foundation in historical facts and archives (Liverani, 2003:1). It is natural that the eyes of love and hatred of the Persians -not the common people but the clan of the nobility and descendants of Cyrus and his pensionariesdescribed themselves as the representatives of the goodness and their opponents, who were the Medes, as evil like all the rulers of historical power. The Greek historians also reflected the Iranian power and Iranian issues, the angle of their own vision and not through observation and research. If we surveyed today's Iranian government from the viewpoint of the love and hatred of the rulers and governmental documents, not from the perspectives of the impartial historians and out of the power viewpoints, it would be the best democratic and the most just system in the world whose leader only owns a rigged rug in his home.

Xnophon Kurou Paideis (Cyrus the Letter), which has adulated Cyrus and Iranians as an ideal modal of kingdom, is a mere narration and prate as based on unanimous views of the historians. (Wiesehefer, 1377/1998: 71; Diakonoff, 1388/2009: 49; Aliev, 1388/2009: 34; Shahbazi, 1350/1971: 100). The science of history does not confirm any point of Xenophon's materials. Xenphon who was one of the Socrates' students and Socrate was one of greatest enemies of democracy together adorated Cyrus.

The myths- based on Eagleton, the myths are the ideologies of preindustrial societies- narrated by Herodotus and Xenophon accord with the Kingworshipping myths of Iranians and this will provide more evidence not for the validity but for the non- scientific and non-historical aspects of these myths. The coordination of Herodotus' text with the Duruis' inscription in Bistoun does not prove their validity since the content of Daruis' inscriptions were soread throughout the territory and we should ask whether Herodotus has referred to them(Briant, 1380/2001: 153).

Daruis, who had initiated a widespread propaganda with the help of the main languaged in all of empire states, translated the contents of the inscription into various languages like the Greece and he promulgated them among the Greek people (Dandamayev, 1386/2007: 83). Therefore, Herodotus used the translatins of the inscription in Greece so that as Ravlinson says some of the Herodotus' materials are the word for word translations of the inscriptions so he has stated Samirdis as Magus -from the same mother and father- ... under the influnce of information in the inscription (ibid: 186)

Herodotus has taken his information with regard to Guamata from Zopiros or Otans and the seven aristocracies who were anti-Gaumata as his story accorded to the claims of these seven people. Herodotus had acquaintance with the son of Megabizos, Zopiris who had fled to Athens, and Otans who was activating around Greece (Cook, Grishovitch, 1387/2008: 240). It was natural for the aristocratic families whose power and property were the result of Cyrus plundering others' lands to speak well about them.

Thus, the only source of the Greek historians was the oral information taken from the rulers to be in authority. Besides, the only narrators of the historical events such as the conquest of the Mede and the defeat of Gaumata have been written down from the viewpoints of the king worshipping mentality of the conquerors in the history which nobody could criticize. Moreover, the ruling power has circulated its narration as the truth and it did not permit any other

narrations of the events to be established. Consequently, these official narrations of the rulers and conquerors of the wars considered themselves as good and recorded their interpretations of the incidents in the history as legendary; hence, they assumed the defeated nations as the symbol of the evil, the demon, and

Why is the border between the myth and history clear in the so-called history of Iran? The change of the historical people into legend and poetry is the result of the lack of historical knowledge and methods. But why has not there existed anything under the name of the science of history in ancient Iran. Why was not historiography there in ancient Iran? Because the King alone ordered and negated the inhabitants of the country like their father, he carried all the actions and all the other people were like his serfs, he himself got the thing to be composed and decided what to write and record for the future (Klima, 1371/1992: 47). For instance, Daruis introduced his writing regarding the events related to Gaumatas' uprising as the absolute facts that noone should question their truthfulness. Daruis the king says: "when you see the pictures in the inscriptions that I wrote, do not destroy them an if possible, preserve them" (DB, 4: 67- 69). "If you see the pictures and the inscriptions, and if you do not destroy them and if possible you do not destroy them, Ahurmazd will be your companion ... and he will bless the end of your work ... if you see the pictures and the inscriptions, and if you do not destroy them and if possible you preserve them, Ahurmazd will hurt you and he will ruin your dynasty" (DB, 4: 72- 80). Thus, what the Greek historians narrated under the title of the historical facts was the reflection of the Persian ruling ideology to consolidate their dominance and to acquire the legitimacy of occupation/confiscation of the Mede in the dominance of truth. With the emergence of modern historiography or Orientalism, they accept Greek's historians without questioned it. Myths of kingship once again took on the stamp of history and science.

Conclusion:

The purpose of this article was to answer the question of how the Persian Empire became great Iran, the cradle of enlightenment, human rights and pluralism. The concept that has been made of Iran, is, on one hand, a more ideological product of modern Orientalism than an abstraction of the history of this land, on the other hand, is an ideology of pars mono-ethnic state to revive its empire and preserve its dominance of non-Persian ethnicities like Kurds. Therefore, they have tried to depoliticize, meanwhile, naturalize or metaphysical the concept of Iran as if this image has always been. Furthermore, it includes the hegemony of Persia, all the ethnicities and cultures living in this land even before the migration of Persian/Aryan or were opposed to Persian rule.

Iranian culture is the same militancy. Beyond the power and politics of government, there is nothing in the name of Iranian culture. There is a great culture and religion, however, they do not belong to Iranian culture. Iranian culture is one of the productions of power of the dominant ethnic groups. Iranian culture, on the one hand, is the same Gods letters and King letters, dealing merely with the military wars of rulers and the replacement of the dynasties and there is no news of popular culture, philosophy, and art. Therefore, what is referred to as the culture of Greater Iran has been nothing more than the monarchism culture, the military policy and the power of the sword which is solely focusing on the narration regarding the kings. Shahnameh gives the same legitimacy to Mahmoud Ghaznawi as to Keykhosrow. Since in Iranian culture, everybody who has more power has more legitimacy and the power of his sword makes him the owner of the divine

charisma. on the other hand, is nothing except the confiscation of Indigenous ethnicities which Persian and late Turks and Mongol dominated them. The only difference between them was that the Persian were the first Turks-Mongol tribes who conquered this land which is called Iran and they have stabilized their name on this land and culture. Therefore, the culture of other ethnicities such as Kurds which owned this land before the invasion of Persian, could not be stigmata in the name of Iranian politics and culture. They were merely occupied and their culture and ritual were confiscated by the dominant Persian ethnic. Iran where is multi-cultural and multi ethnicities land with the hegemony of Persian dominance was constructed in the age of the modern nation-State to legitimize and hegemonize their dominance of other ethnicities like Kurds and reproduce their past empire in the form of Nation- State. In other words, the State was former to Nation and the monopolistic government tried to nationalize and homogenize the heterogeneous nations.

The Persians, who were later called Aryans, were one of the Turks-Mongol tribes who emigrate to this land where had called Medes before the dominance of Persian tribes. Jahez, a thinker of the second and third centuries of Islam, considered that there are no differences between Turks and Persian and the differences between them is like differences between Maki and Madani not between Rom and Arab. Bosworth mentioned that in the era of Shaubiyeh this distinction was constructed that Persians like Firdausi moulded the concept of Turan to the Turks, just as they moulded Zahak to the Arabs which were previously addressed to the Kurdish-Medes. Therefore, they distinguished themselves from their Turkish ancestors. As a result, this land which is called Iran and its culture and history does not depend on Fars as well as it is Unreal and non-historical to define this land and their ancient culture and religion to the name of Iran with Persian seal. The relation between the Persian/Aryan and this land is the dominance of power over the culture and land. It means the Persian dominated, destroyed and confiscated the culture and land of Iran as

well as Turks and Arabs and Mongol did. This land was called Medes great and small and their ritual was Mithras. Achaemenid Persian destroyed the Medes government and Zoroaster, Persian empire religion, deconstructed and devalued the Mithras and revalued it in accordance with Zoroastrianism. This invasion and confiscation began with Persia and ended with the Mongols and Timur.

A design for the government theory in the Middle East

Comparison of three Iranian, Arab and Kurdish governments in relation to their religion

Abstract:

The Middle East is burning in the inflammation of ethnic and religious crises. On the one hand, old empires are being revived in the guise of modern NationState: the Iranian government is trying to revive the old Persian Empire with the ideology of the Shiite crescent/Heilal, as well as the Arabs with the ideology of Islam in the form of ISIS or nationalism in the form of Baath and Saddam. Similarly, Turkey is reviving with the ideology of neo-Ottomanism and the fight against terrorism. On the other hand, the relative democracy of Kurdish

regional governments in Iraq and Syria are under threat and pressure from all three governments. What are the political and cultural roots of the Middle East crises? In answer Many views and analyses such as Fundamentalism or ideologic conflict, economic, authoritarian personalities and post-colonialism have been presented that unfortunately lack a theoretical and historical basis. The purpose of this article is to understand the conceptual-historical roots of ethnic and religious conflicts in the Middle East by comparing the three state-religions of Iran/Zoroastrianism-Shia, Arab/Islam and Kurdish/Mithras, which are rooted in their ethnic culture. Ethnic will is the main cause of the crisis, which uses government and religion as tools.

Introduction

This essay aims to compare three Iranian, Arabic, and Kurdish states which correspond with the three religions of Zoroaster, Islam and Mithra each having its root in the imagination of every ethnic group in their rite and ritual. To do this, we must return to the zero point that these governments formed in connection with their religions. The foundation that has shaped their present destiny. Therefore, instead of finding the foundation of crises, the crisis of foundations should be theorized.

To find a solution, one must first know the crisis and the root of the crises. Unfortunately, the analyzes have been presented for the Middle East lack historical and theoretical basis. For example, focusing on religious fundamentalism is not able to analyze issues because Islamic fundamentalism is a tool and resulted from ethnic politics. The main root of the Middle East crises

is the conflict between mono-ethnic states and stateless nations, whose state and religion are the military and hegemonic tools of the dominant ethnic groups in dominating stateless ethnic groups such as the Kurds. If the history of the West is the history of class conflict, and ideas such as liberalism and socialism are the ideology of class domination, the history of the Middle East is the history of Ethnic/tribes 'conflict, moreover, religions such as Islam and Zoroastrianism are the ideology of ethnic domination. For this reason, the text (Quran, Bible, Gatha) itself has no meaning, the meaning lies outside it is in the political and social structure. the conflict between good and evil in the religions is a reflection of the ethnicities/nations and political conflict. The ruling ethnics/tribes that own the state/empire consider themselves good and representative of God and they call the stateless and defeated tribes Satan and evil. Ethnic will is the main and historic factor in the Middle East, which takes on an objective form in the form of a state / empire and is manifested mentally through religion. Hence, as Marx said, the critique of heaven must become the critique of the earth».

Engels categorizes three main form of the government as Athenian, namely the class government, the Roman, that is, the domination of the aristocracy on society and the German, i. e. the conquest of the land (Alamdar, 1380/2001: 193). Iran and the Arabs can first be called German and then Roman. That is, the Iranian government was basically based on the pattern of conquest and the thirst of Median/Kurdish wealth, and the Arab government was founded on the pattern of conquest and the thirst of Persian/Kasra and Roman/Caesar riches. Then, the two governing ethnic groups became the upper classes and the nobility of the Iranian/Islamic civilization as the result of the looting of the conquered nations. Another pattern that we can present not as a reality, but as a concept of reality is the pattern of the contract appearing incomplete exemplenary forms in the Kurdish government from the arbitration and general election of Diako up to the today's agreement democracy of Iraqi Kurdistan (south of Kurdistan) and the

present-day cantons of Rojava (north of Kurdistan). Therefore, the pattern of the two Iranian/Arabic governments is the Fatah (Conquest), and the Kurdish government pattern is the contract or treaty. Although, the great historical governments of the Middle East (Empire/Caliphate) were ultimately in the service of the power and ethnic interests and legitimized the ethnic gaps, they are rooted in their ethnic culture, and their religion understanding in which the religion and government are interdependent.

The Persians, as a result of their thirst for the wealth of the Medes, and the Arab people, as the result of their thirst for the fortunes of Caesar/Kasra of wealth, conquered/plundered those fortunes; thus, they turned into superior class. Besides, to maintain the dominance and continuity of their looting, they formed the hierarchical administration of the state (empire/caliphate) and they utilized the ideology of religion (Zoroaster/Islam) in order to legitimize the looting/conquest, in the form of sacred concepts of booty, Zakat, Jizya, taxes, jihad and Therefore, the production force of the Persian/Arab ethnicities is the looting/conquest and the government (Islamic Caliphate/Persian Empire) and religion (Islam/Zoroaster) is the reflection or the military and hegemonic instrument of the ethnicity/class of the owner of the production force (looting), that is the Arabs/Persians. The destiny of these governments (caliphate/empire) is one ethnic/class state of Arab/Pars, From Darrius up to Reza shah, From Abu Bakr Siddiq to Abu Bakr Baghdadi and Saddam, From Sultan Sanjar to Ataturk and Erdogan. (Over the past decades there are many examples like Iran-Persian government as well as Iraq and Syrian, Iraq and Turkey) and expansionism of Iranian and Arabic states derives their legitimacy from their religion, i.e. Zoroaster and Islam. However, the Kurdish government taken from the Medes is partially represented in the Kurdistan Republic (east of Kurdistan) and the Bashor contractual democracy (south of Kurdistan) and the cantons treaty of

Rojava (west of Kurdistan), not as a result of the thirst for other wealth's, but as the result of the social contract for the implementation of justice and disposal of foreign conquest/looting like Isis. The Kurds' religion, unlike Islam and Zoroaster, meant the Treaty or the Contract. Therefore, the Kurds felt no need for a powerful state to give it legitimacy for plundering especially the Kurds were neither the owners of a large empire nor holy religion in history. They also did not need a metaphysical God for legitimacy (for this reason from Khomeini to Saddam, Isis and Erdogan called them as Satan, Kafir and terrorism), since their political order was based on compromise and acceptance. Comparing Iranian/Zoroastrian and Arabic/Islamic government/religion with the Kurdish/Mithraism government/religion is an ideal sample of comparing conquest pattern with the contract pattern.

The Iranian/Zoroastrian government/empire

Cyrus considered himself as from behalf of the God/Ahurmazd to have access to the treasures of the Mede/Ekbatan and the domination of the Persians over the Medes. The Medes owned the Kingdom and the Persians were primitive disparate tribes. The necessity to obtain the treasures of Irbat was the defeat of the Medes kingdom, and the requirement to defeat the Medes was the formation of the Persian empire. Furthermore, the pre-requirement of the formation of the powerful Persian/Achaemenid empire was a totalitarian and legitimacy-giving ideology and the legitimacy which the Zoroaster religion provided it. Therefore, the underlying structure of the Iranian civilization was the plundering of Ekbatan and the conquering of the Medes and others land. Now we are going to provide more evidence for it.

As the cause of the rising and the emergence of Islam from the language of the Prophet of Islam (in the continuation ...) was the thirst of wreathes and

plundering of the treasures of the Caesar and Kasra, the cause of the Persians's revolt was well as the thirst for the riches of the Mede. According to Herodotus, the main cause of the Persians revolt against the Medes and the grid of Cyrus was apparently that the Persians were burning for the wealthes of the Mede (Herodotus, 1387/2008: 99-100, Briant, 1380: 23). The Medes owned the powerful kingdom and the Persians were semi-wild disperate tribes, who owed their survival to animal husbandry and the hard life of the desert and the plain, according to Katias, the Achamanid tribe of Cyrus were shepherds. According to Herodotus, Cyrus was thinking how to incite the Iranians. after a long thought, Cyrus gathered an association of Persians and told them to bring their own scythes ... Cyrus ordered them to clear up a piece of land full of thorns and thistles . . . On the other day, Cyrus killed all his father's flocks including the sheep and cattle and he served his guests with them and with wine and pleasure ... after the party ended, he asked whom you liked best. They replied: The difference between them was great, and yesterday was a hard and useless day and it was a happy day today. Cyrus expressed his intention ex-plicitly and said that your situation is in this way, if you listen to me, you will enjoy the banquets and thousands of other pleasures, and if you don not listen, you will never fall into bondage and pains like yesterdays' works... I have a duty for your freedom from the side of your Lord, you are not inferior to the Medes, so immediately revolt against Astiag (Herodotus, 1387/2008: 99-100). After three years of struggle Cyrus succeeded to defeat Astiag and the Medes, Cyrus looted Ekbatan and transferred all its riches at Pasargadae (Gerishwich, *ibid*: 644. Diakonoff, 1388/2009: 390).

Therefore, an agreement was reached between Cyrus and the Persian clan and the nobles by the mediation of Cyrus' father (Cambyses), the content of which were admitting to the leadership of Cyrus by the nobility, and the looting/conquest of Mede and other lands and giving the properties and the lands to Persian aristocracy. Cyrus's father, Cambyses, tells the Persians that, in order

provide the bless for both parties, Cyrus must defend the nobility/Persians and the aristocracy from Cyrus. The conditions of this accord, according to Xenophon, existed even in his time (Xenophon, Karimi: 27). The alliance of Keykhosrow with the heroes -the local governors- against Turanian Afrasiab is a reflection of the Cyrus' alliance with the Persian aristocrats against the Mede (Pirnia, 1383/2004: 132). Among these privileges of tribal nobilities at the time of Cyrus are: "The King has the right to marry only from the daughters of the seven tribal aristocracy; the representatives of these clans have the right to attend the presence of the King without any obstacles, and they have to be the hereditary rulers in their own states. they have the right to wear a special hat. The King should consider the advice of these nobles, and the aristocracy should also support Cyrus in terms of the military force, and Cyrus must change the conquered territory lands as the personal lands of the aristocracy" (Dandamayev, 1386/2007: 225). "There were some compromises between Cyrus and the aristocrats including the conditions of Cyrus being the king and the preservation of the concessions of the privileged classes. Cyrus himself was one of the most influential tribal princes and the representative of the tribes, as the Achaemenid dynasty was one of the seven known tribes" (Dandamayev, ibid: 225-226). The founding policy of the Empire was consistent with the purposes of the tribal nobility (Wiesehofer, 1389/2010: 70). The Cyrus and the nobility were conquering for the war booties (Rezai, 1384/2005: 309). The aristocracy treaty with Cyrus was on place at the time of the next kings, including Darius. In the reign of Darius, the royal family took part of the best land of the vanquished nations, and put them into the hereditary property of the royal members and representatives of the Persian aristocracy, and the owners of these lands were exempt from paying taxes" (Ivanov, 1981/2002: 85).

Therefore, Cyrus regarded himself as the elect of God for the plundering of Ekbatan and superiority of the Persis over the Mede. This is the same

shepherd/herd pattern that Foucault referred to it. Cyrus and the Prophet Mohammad considered themselves as the elects of God to liberate their people and they promise the land and the booties to their flock similar to a shepherd.

“Cyrus were always in the habit of saying these words that a good king does not make any difference to a shepherd. As the shepherd benefits from the herds to care for them, the king will see the obedience from his subordinates to provide his prosperity (Xenophon, Karimi: 258). Islamic thinkers like Ghazali and Nizamo al Molk have repeatedly described the relation of the king/serfs to the shepherd/herd. As the shepherd has to think of his flock, the herd/the serf is expected to have the absolute obedience to the king.

The Iranian government was the mono-ethnic Persian state under the exclusive monopoly of the Persian ethnic group. The Kheshteravans (appointed governors) of Cyrus and Cambria were from the Persian families without exception (Briant, 1380/2001: 126).

Like Islam, the religion of Zoroaster was also in the service of Persian rule. There is even the possibility of Zoroaster having the agreement with Cyrus and the aristocracy. "Cyrus could have called on Zoroaster, who was well known, in Kashmar (Hinz, 1386/2007: 93), since the religion of Zoroaster was the foundation of the Achaemenid empire with the concepts of divine glory and cosmic order providing the legitimacy of killing and elimination of opponents with the concepts of Ajidahak, Div and Demon.

Palyaro believes that the tenets of Zoroastrianism have been the backbone of the Iranian concept, i.e. a religious factor and a kind of moral revival that fueled the the first Achamanid ardor for expansionism (Palyaro, cited in Newly, 1381/2002 16). He also pointed out that Zoroastrianism had given so much power to the Achaemenid Empire that the greatest resistance to Alexander was in the land of Zoroaster (Newly, ibid: 17). Zoroastrian Mages found special respect at the court of Cyrus and Cambria (Diakonoff, ibid: 175). Like Islamic jurists, the Zoroastrian Mages considered Persian Kings as the representatives of

God having Godly glory (the shadow of God) and also the political order as in the continuation of the cosmic order and Shah of kings as the earthly symmetry, of Ahormazd. Thus, the opponents of sovereignty and ethnic despotism of the Persians were rejected and suppressed under the name of evil, Div, Ajidahak/Zahak and the lie.

For example, the evil of Zoroaster is the same Median Mithra. The main mission of Mithra was to kill the sacred cow (Zaehner, Lumel, Bianaki in Closka, 1385/2006: 48). In Gots, it is the devil who kills the Holy Cow (Boyce, 1381: 50; Zaehner in Bianaki, 1385/2006: 48; Hinlez, 1385/2006: 125). The demons of Vandidad are directed towards the Medes and the Median gods (Widingern, 1377/1998:167). A chapter of Vandid names a list of the impure places in which the Mede is one of the unclean sites and the Pers has been known as pure and away from the evil (Razi, 1385/2006: 66). In Vandidad, the gods of the Medes have mentioned into the ranks of devils" (ibid: 103).

Similar to the Quranic verse of Qatalo fi Sabilila (fight in the direction of God) and Jahado fi Sabilila (Jihad in the way of God) in Islam, "There can be seen a violent trace of thought in sacred texts of Zoroaster religion ... Kill just with the battle ax or tomahawk (Yasna 31 article 18) ... the faith (religion) that takes battle ax into its service (Yasna 12 article 9).

Therefore, the foundation of the Iranian/Persian state is the looting of the property and the conquest of the land; to achieve this situation, there was an agreement between Cyrus as the leader and envoy of God and the Persian tribes as pensionerists and nobles. The Zoroaster and the Mages unwritten agreement of accepting Cyrus' leadership from the part of the tribes and giving the occupied lands to the tribes as personal property was reached to give the legitimacy of looting and the killing of the defeated people and the conquest of their land. Zoroaster and Cyrus shared a common enemy: the enemy of Zoroaster was the religion of the Median Mithraists, and the enemy of Cyrus was the monarchy and the sovereignty of the Medes. The common enemy created the alliance of

the Zoroastrianism and the leadership and the military power of Cyrus and the Persian tribes. Cyrus and the tribes were conquering the lands killing the people; hence, Zoroaster gave legitimacy to it through demonizing Mithra and dragging Astiag. Therefore, the Iranian political reason is one of the outcomes of the interests of Persian tribes (looting and plundering), the Persians' nobles (the preservation of aristocracy with military command and the governors of the provinces), the monarchy of Cyrus in the Empire to conquer, plunder, and the religion of Zoroaster for its legitimacy. If we look at the politics of the Islamic Republic today, we will notice its structural similarities with ancient history. Allah replaced Ahuramazda, Shia instead of Zoroaster. I spread the Persian spears to distant lands (Dariush), it has become the way to Quds from Karbala with commanders like Qassim Soleimani.

The development of the modern one-ethnicity state

The development of the so-called modern Reza Shah state of as well as the old Cyrus government have been Persian one-ethnic government, and the philosophy of government formation of Reza Shah was the protection of the Persians ethnic dominance against non-Fars ethnics. As a matter of fact, the modern government in Iran was developed against and for the suppression of the ethnic/tribal movements. The modern state was a one-ethnic Persian government to maintain its sovereignty over other tribes.

The formation of both the monarchy of the father and son was based on the suppression of the national uprising of Kurds, Semko and Qa:zi Mohammad. Albeit, it does not mean that the main factor in the formation of the modern state in Iran was the Kurds or the fight against the Kurds. Certainly, the collection of national and international factors has been involved in this case. But one of the

main factors in the formation and development of the Pahlavi system has been the issue and suppression of kurds. As the Faravartish uprising was not the only uprising against Darius, but according to Darius himself at Bistoun it was the most important of them, At the time of Pahlavi, the Kurdish uprising was not the only uprising and there were other uprisings, including Sheikh Khaz'al, Kernl Pisyan and ... but without doubt the most important factor in the development of Pahlavi and the modern government was the Kurdish uprisings.

The development of the modern state was not the result of a military coup, but the support of the intellectuals and the Persian ethnic group for preserving the rule of the Persians with the slogan of national unity. Reza Khan believed in the superiority of the Aryan and the pan-Farsism ideology, which had taken root among modern intellectuals after the first war (Katozian, 1383/2004: 363).

“Reza Shah's nationalism treatment with the locals was in a way as if they were dealing with an occupied land ... there was discrimination against non-Persian provinces. All provincial and town governors and ... were chosen among the Persian language speakers and it was similar to the treatment of the whites with the Indians that was of special to Reza Shah. "He became the executer of the viewpoint of the modernist nationalists' elites, that he had converted to them" (ibid: 435-436). There was a widespread discrimination against all provinces in favor of Tehran and against all non-Farsi provinces in the instersts of Persian speakers (Katozian, 1379/2000: 436). Nazism and Nazi Germany became an official cultural pattern fro Reza Shah's reign (Katozian, 1380/2001: 236). Persians decided to form a a one-ethnic Persian state to rule other ethnic groups. After the Russian revelution and the defeat of Mashrota (constitution), 18 members of the Democrat party based on the sugges-tion by Mohammad Taghi Bahar proposed to start a national political party so as to form the main body of a powerful great government ... (Asif, 1384/2005: 150). They meant a state like that formed by AtaTurk or later in Germany by the Nazis (Bahar, 1371/1992: 27).

With the formation of the modern Persian government, the languages of other ethnic groups were threatened with the spread and teaching of Persian language. The number of Persian speakers exceeded the number of the non-Persian speakers (Abrahamian, 1383/2004: 177). important trade centers of other ethnicities such as Tabriz and Kermanshah and ... fell out of boom or slackened and, Tehran became a major commercial and economic center. The ethnicities were deprived of the military force and the Persians' center government took control of the monopoly of violence and military power, i.e. the same traditional structure continued. Thus, the mono-ethnic Persian government began not only to establish and develop its culture and language, but also it looted the wealth of other ethnic groups and transformed the Persian inhabited centers into major commercial and economic centers. They ransacked the grains of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, the underground resources such as oil and gas of Arabistan (Khuzestan) and ... and sent them to the Persians-inhabited centers. The same looting and plundering of property of other ethnic groups continued in a more modern form and under the framework of the law and bureaucracy. The whole Iranian law and constitution is the internalization of the Persian looting and violence on other tribes.

Therefore, the main conflict in the Iranian society is not the state conflict with the nation, or the unity in plurality, or the state with the clan, or the class conflict, but the conflict is between the mono-ethnic Persian state/empire and the other without-government tribes. The point is in the domination of the mono-ethnic Persian government on other tribes, including the Kurds. This ethnic superiority leads to the depletion of the surplus of wealth and the resources of other governmentless tribes, including the Kurds, and their transfer to the upper class, i.e. the Persians that changes the Persians into an ethnic superior class. Thus, the ethnic conflict becomes a class conflict. Class/economic superiority had freed many of the Persians from doing handy works and labour and it turned them into doing intellectual work and the production of thought and ideological religion to

justify the Persians' power. Consequently, they needed an ideology to justify their usurpation and giving it legitimacy as a power can be removed through violence and spear but their people cannot be exploited as the slaves forever. The single ethnic empire of Persians needed the ideology to maintain their power and to justify it. Therefore, they have sought refuge in the framework of their time discourse on certain knowledge and ideology for giving legitimacy to themselves. The principle is the justification of the power, and the structure of Iranian political reason has always aimed at justification of power, not the production of knowledge and episteme. In the ancient period, they called on the Aryan myths and the mythical interpretation of the Zoroaster religion for the justification of their actions, their usurpation and the rejection and the ignorance of the others. They justified all the power struggle, looting and usurpations as the symbol of the goodness, the decree of Ahurmazd and the prosperity of agriculture. Nevertheless, they described the uprisings of other peoples against the usurpation and the plundering of their wealth and their lands as the symbol of the evil, demon and anti-civilization, and they set them off to the future in the passage of history. in the Islamic medieval period, they considered themselves as the symbols of Islam and, goodness as the shadow of God (Zilo al Soltan) and their opponents as the symbols of the evil, Satan, Ghermeti and infidel and With the formation of modern government using the ideologies of state nationalism and political islam in the contemporary period, they ignore and reject the oppositions of the empire and the mono-ethnic state of the Persians as the separatists, the ethnic superstition, the agents of imperialism, and tribalism. Therefore, government is a military and Bureaucracy tool of Persian ethnic dominance as well as Nationalism and religion are its hegemonic tool.

Islamic/Arabic Government/Empire

Similar to Cyrus, the prophet of Islam regarded his mission as gaining hands on the treasures of Caesar and Kasra in the earliest days of his prophetic rising. Caesar and the Kasra were in the hands of two powerful empires of that time, i.e. Rome and Persia. It required a more powerful empire to defeat and destruct the two powerful empires to attain their treasures, which the peninsula, the location of the prophet's emergence, lacked such an empire. The formation of a powerful empire also required an inclusive and sacred religion/ideology. Therefore, all the efforts of the Prophet were to transform the dispersal of the Arab tribes to the Ummah/Empire and to guide the warfare of the tribes outward. Thus, like the Cyrus' accord with the Persian aristocrats, an unwritten treaty was established between the Prophet and the Arab tribes. The contents of this treaty were: accepting the Islamic religion and the Prophethood of Muhammad by the Arab Qureish/tribes, giving the concessions of the trophies/bondwomen to the Arab tribes and preserving the aristocracy and preserving the aristocracy and mastery of Qureish in the new Islamic civilization. With their zealotry and power, the Arab tribes expanded the religion of Islam; in return, the prophet put the property, the wives and daughters and the occupied lands in the form of booties/bondwomen in their disposal. He not only preserved the

superiority/aristocracy of Qureish on Arabs but also, he made them as the master of the entire empire/Caliphate. The political reason of Islam was codified with the stimulus of booty/conquest (tribes), the military arm of the Government/Caliphate (Quraish) and the legitimacy of that religion (the Prophet). Its foundation included the economic/instinctive wisdom of the Arab tribes, its masters and nobles were from the Qureish and its rules were the revelations of the prophet.

Despite the viewpoint of the researchers, conditions did not impose the formation of government on the religion of Islam, but the invitation of the Prophet Muhammad also conveyed a clear message and political project from the beginning, that is, putting an end the two governments of Iran and Rome and gaining the treasures of these two governments. "The historians mention a man named Afif Kendy, who said that I was a tradesman and came to Mecca to Abbas, the prophet's uncle, during the Haj pilgrimage. And when I was with him, a man came out and pray towards the Kaaba, then a woman came out and prayed with him , and then an adolescent joined them. 'What is this religion?' I asked Abbas. He said tthis is my nephew, Abdolla's son who is the prophet of Islam who claims that God has sent him and the treasures of Kasra and Caesar will be opened to him" (Tabari, Vol3, 1389/2010: 47-48; Ibn-e Asir, Vol2, 1370: 872; Jaber, 1387/2008: 87). Furthermore, the prophet told the leaders of the Quraysh, who had gone to Abu Talib to complain about him, "tell me a statement so that you can get to the Arab kingdom with it and the Ajams (non-Arabs) knell down in front of you" (Ibn-e Asir, ibid: 882; Tabari, ibid: 54). In interpreting the verse 26, the exegetists say: When the Prophet conquered the Mecca, he pledged his own Omat to the Kingdom of Iran and Rome when he conquered Mec-ca (Azemakhshari, 421, cited in Jaber, 1387/2008: 87-89). In this speech, the tacit agreement of the Qureish aristocracy is evident with the Prophet of Islam. The ghuraish acceptance of Islam and the Prophets pledge of monarchy, which the tribes' interests/instincts in return to the development of religion were added to

them later, clarifies that the aim of the Prophet from designing the Islamic religion was to reach the treasures of Kasra and Caesar and the union of scattered Arab tribes to form such an Empire.

The Arab tribes were scattered and they had numerous gods. To destroy the tribal differences and to unite them under the umbrella of a superior power, the Prophet of Islam first absorbed and assimilated their gods in a great God called Allah; thus, he provides the theoric background for the sovereignty of unity over diversity. as soon as they found that Islam was not harmful for their commercial interests, and the new idol of Kaaba/pilgrimage would make more pilgrims to come than their tribal idols. As the result, the trade would flourish resulting in having more profits for their businessmen, (Gibb, 1962/1983: 5) they not only refused to resist Islam, but took the opportunity in competing together to serve it. The Prophet sent this message to them that Mecca and the nobles of the Quraish would preserve their aristocracy and trade under the banner of the Islamic pilgrimage through changing Qibla from Beitolmoqadas (Jueruslem) to Mecca adorsing Islamic tradition of Pilgrimage (Haj). "The pilgrimage of Muslims connotated that the profits of the Quraish from Haj and pilgrimage would not only be economically harmful to them but it would increase, too" (Jaberi, ibid: 187). hence, Islam did not break their eco-nomic independence. (Gibb, 1962: 5). The prophet knew the reason for Maccain conversion to Islam and he gave more booties to new-converters to Islam in the conquest of Mecca since their beliefs were fragile. Indeed, the community of the Islam advent, as Bertram says, was a super-tribe (Thomas, 1937: 125). Islam employed and absorbed the compositional form of the tribe (Firhi, 1378/1999: 135). As soon as the prophet turned from humanitarian slogans to the slogans of "kill in the course of God and . . . , the Arabic tribes converted to Islam to plunder the capital of the other tribes. The Islam of the tribes, like the Islam of all Arabs and the Islam of those who were called as hypocrites and the Islam of Ghoraih, were all political Islam similar to the contract that the Arabic tribes signed with the leader

of the victorious tribe in the time of Jahiliat (ignorance)" (Jaberi, ibid: 206). The first followers of Islam were those that were agitated in the hope of winning the spoils of war and conquest of the lands (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 37). The Arab tribes converted to Islam because of the promise of war spoils or military threat (Gibb, ibid). The construction of the tribe not only supported the Prophet of Islam but also it turned to the moving engine of the Islamic state, and the spread of Islam outside the Medina border was also orbiting around the tribe (Firhi, 1378/1999: 138- 139).

As long as the Prophet was in Mecca and in weakness position in relation to the Qureish, the Quranic verses of Mecca (70 verses) all recommended the patience. But when he migrated to Medina and signed the joint defense agreement against the Qureish, the verses of fighting "fight in the course of God" descended which allowed Muslims to enter the war with the Qureish (ibid: 173). position of the Prophet as a prophet and a charismatic leader was only achieved by his military and political superiority (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 57). The attacks of the messenger to caravans were all aimed at encroaching on the commercial caravans of the Qureish (ibid: 175). Verses 1 and 41 of the Anfal Surat declares clearly that what was captured from the infidels through force, four fifths of them were given to the fighters. It is interesting to note that the Surat of Anfal descended after the Ghazva of Badr which describes how to distribute or divide the war booties (Jaberi, ibid: 179), as Muslims quarreled about the spoils of battle (Ibn-e Asir, Vol3: 961).

The invitation of the Prophet was not only invitation but also a government (Jaberi, ibid: 195). Indeed, the Islamic state was a Qureshi government and the instrument of the dominace of Qureish on arabs as long as it was in Arab Peninsula but after extending to Iran and Rome, it became the Arabic/Quraish government and the tool of Arab hegemony on non-Arabs. The internal system of the Islamic state was also based on the tribes' heritage and tribe' it preserved s life pattern in the sense of Omat (firihi, ibid: 140)

Indeed, Islam abrogated (annulled) the traditions of the Arab tribes, including theft, looting, sexual assault and the Arabic warfare, and it revived and spreaded the tribute, taxes, Zakat, bondwoman and polygamy and Jihad. "Islam adopted the main concepts of tribal humanity and gave them new and religious content" (Izotso in Turner, the same: 61), Instead of Arab tribes' invading and infringing each other, Islam united them, and it concebrated their force, looting and aggression towards the non-Arab tribes. "The nascent Muslim community had to press its power outwards as soon as the internal security was provided and bloodshedding was prohibited ... the efficiency of this system was dependent on an able and mobile military force" (Turner, 1379/2000: 144). As Max Weber said: The social carriers of Islam were the fighters of the Arab tribes. Islam accepted the spirit of pleasure-seeking especially in relation to women, the luxuries and the assets (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 20). Sexual tendencies were an important factor in shaping Muslims' education about family and marriage (Weber, ibid: 59).

Islam and the Islamic Caliphate was also used as the hegemonic tools and the military tools in the service of empiricist Arab aggression and the preservation of Arab domination of others. The Government/Islamic Caliphate became the "real estate owner" and the Arab elites, who enjoyed the advantages of land and per capita taxes, were at the top of the sratification system (Turner, 1379/2000: 149), and other turned into its public slaves.

In fact, the Prophet of Islam made a compromise between the commercial desire of the Qureish aristocracy and the claims of the booties and the worriors of desert tribes in light of the teachings of text of Quran. "The unique driving force of Islam came from the temporary fusion of skilled forces and the urban leadership with nomadic power" (Weber, ibid: 60). Therefore, the religious content of the initial period of Islam is considered as a secondary phenomenon and its main phenomenon is victory and the worldly triumph (Weber, ibid: 66).

Abu Baker, the first Caliph, understood the logic of the Prophet's message. he said, "I will wage war with anyone who makes a difference between prayer and Zakat, and by Allah I will make war with them if they refused to pay a goat" (Maghdasi, 1374/1995: 988). Like the prophet, he discovered the relation of plundering (Zakat) with the ideology of Islam. This can explain why he went to the war with Muslims and only for the plundering under the name of Jihad in the way of Allah. Interestingly, Qureish, who converted to Islam later than others and their faith was fragile, did not come back from Islam and did not become renegades, since the Prophet's government/invitation ended in Qureishi's government (Jaberi: 207).

In the death of the prophet, when the people of Qureish tried to return to the religion of the time of ignorance, Soheil Ibn-e Omro, one of the aristocrats of Qureish forbade them to do so and said: "Don't be the first renegades from the religion, ... Muhammad's religion will win over; I saw him in the same place that he said to me to give him a word so as to tame Arabs for you and to make Ajam pay you tribute ... I swear to God that one day would come so that you could gain the treasures of Caesar and Khosraw (Ibn-e Asir, vol3: 1198). Therefore, contrary to Ali Abdu al Razzaq, Rada (apostate) wars were not the beginning of the caliphate/Islamic state, but the continuation of it since the time of Prophet. and the Zakat was the tribute/ransom that the conquering tribe would obtain from the defeated tribe (Jaberi, ibid: 206).

With the surplus of the accumulation of the other tribes coming down to the peninsula, Mecca and Medina, the Arab nation, which had firmly established its superiority, became the upper class, and the defeated tribes had retreated to the lower class. The Islamic/caliphate government also became the tool to preserve the superiority and reproduction of the dominance and the interests of the top Qureish/Arab tribe/class. Islam also served as an ideological tool for the interests of the Arab people. The opponents of the authority and the sovereignty of the

Qureish were rejected and suppressed, as the infidel and the enemies of God and the Qureish made the people come under the obedience to Arab rule and dominion in the name of Ati o Allah ... (obey the God and its messengers), Daro Salaam (the house of peace), destiny, the Arabic language is the language of God, Aemato min Qureish (the leaders are from Qureish), Ahlol Beit (the members of the family) and Qureish aristocracy appeared with the new dress of Aemat o min Qureish (leaders are from Qureish), Sahaba (the friends), Ahlol Beit (the members of the family), the overtake in Islam. Due to the communication facilities of the world in that time and the vast geographical distance, it was natural that the companions and the overtake in religion could not be among non-Qureish and non-Arab, as the Prophet had not appeared among them. Thus, the Qureish/Arab aristocracy was restored in the form of Islam. Therefore, the principle of Islam was the dominance of the strategy and ideology of the Arabs over the non - Arabs, and the Islamic state/Caliphate was also its military means which were the surface structure or the reproducers of the production force and the interests of the Arab/Qureish tribe. The productive power of the Arab tribes was also plunder and pillage in the name of Zakat, Jizya, tribute, booty, and . . . so that as a result of looting/tribute, the Arab peoples became the upper class.

With the deterioration of the Arab prejudice and superiority at the time of Abbasids, the Islamic Empire had lost the element of social solidarity, and the new regime had to exploit religious institutions to create a new sense of political identity. Under these conditions, which the par-ticular face of the later Islamic society, i.e. the union between the Caliphate and the ulema extended out..., the scholars prepared the legitimacy for the government and demanded that the law be accepted as divine revelation and a fixed phenomenon (Turner, 1379: 152). It was at this time that the Islamic knowledge and scholars such as Mawardi, Nizamo al Molk, Ghazali and other Jurists preserved the hierarchical order and Arab hegemony under the name of Islam and through calling the caliphates as

Zilo al Soltan (the Shadow of God), sanctifying the government and calling the opponents as atheists along with the declining of Arabic prejujice. Imam-e Shafei makes it impossible to separate the meaning and interpretation of the Quran from Arab linguistics, and in particular the narrative of the Qureish, and he considers Qureish's understanding of its text as the best understanding; therefore, he knows the sovereignty of the Qureish as the ecessity of the religion" (Firhi, *ibid*: 235). In Shfei's view, the caliphate is exclusive to Qureish; thus, a Qureishi is legitimate Caliph who dominats through force and sword and ...; any opposition to him will be regarded as one of the referent instances of heresy (AboZaid, 1996: 62; Ahmad, 1975/1996: 327).

The similarity of the pattern of the Iranian and Persian government was due to the religion similarity of the two peoples; it seems that the pattern of the Prophet of Islam in founding the strategy of Islam was Zoroastrian Iran. The Prophet of Islam borrowed the concepts of heaven and hell and the other world from Zoroaster. As the religion of Zoroaster was a tool in the service of the Iranian monarchy system to plunder the surplus of capital of other ethnic groups, the religion of Islam was also a means of serving the interests of the Arab people and the Quraish. After the spread of Islam and the conquest of other tribes, it employed the imperial tax code of the Sassanid monarchy. Islamic tribute was based on the Sasanian method (Frye, *ibid*: 387) and the jurists' attempt was to justify its historical records, to reconcile it with intellectual standards and to put them in the form of Sharia (Lampton, 1345/1966: 88). There occurred no change and progress in Iran with the advent of Islam; the capital moved from Tisiphon to Medina, and the local tax principles and indigenous social order remained in place, and the strong local men were still ruling" (Frye, *ibid*: 386). The administrative organization as well as the integrity of the religion and government were still among the fundamentals of Islam and as the example of the Sasanian kingdom (*ibid*: 388). The divine charisma of the kings - as tin

Tabatabai's words- were interpreted as Zilo al Soltan and the Caliphate system accepted the traditions and the customs of the Sasanian governmentality (Petroshefroski: 72). The four social classes of the Sassanians remained as before in Islam ... only Islam took the place of Zoroastrianism (Frye, *ibid*: 387). The admistration apparatus of Abbassids system was a full imitation of the Sasanian empire, and the tradition of dynasty and hierarchical system and ... continued as before (Garthwaite, 1385: 231). If the main pursuits of *Shahname* and *Khodainame*'s in the ancient Persia were around the truth and the legitimacy of the Kings, the loyaty of the serfs to the Kings and the eternal struggle between good and evil (Lazarov, Cambridge, 1379: 538), the main interests of the political jurisprudence and Islamic knowledge (*SiastNamas* and *ShariaNama*) are centered around the truth and the legitimacy of the Caliphate, the serfs' loyalty towards Caliphate system and the continued conflict between Muslims and infidels. However, it is clear that the men of goodness/justice are the masters of power and the men of evil are the oppositions of power.

In the modern era a Defeat of the Ottoman Empire and collapse of Islamic Caliphate led to humiliation feeling, crisis and mental/intellectual vacuum among Arab nations. Self-consciousness toward self-identity and by grace of nationalism, every once in a while, one of the western ideologies were raised by Arab world to regain previous nobility and distinct position of Arabic aristocracy. These ideologies were applied under name of modernization and transition from tradition to modernity. The self-awareness of being behind the west technologically led to efforts to become free from Turks/Ottoman and colonialism rule. Arabs used nationalism. Arab nationalism intention was meant to revive Arab Greatness.

Liberalism, socialism, communism all were tried by Arab leaders and intellectuals but the core of the idea still is Arabic self-consciousness and patriotism. Due to frequent failure of western ideologies to revive Arab Greatness and continuous crisis in the Islamic and Arabic world, mainly

Israeli/Arab war, Arabic nations resorted into Islam. They resorted not for spiritual and sacred reason. Return to Islam is for revival of past greatness and as a political force to restore historical position. from the Muslim Brotherhood to the Wahhabis, from Saddam and the Ba'athists to ISIS. After the defeat of the Ba'athists, ISIS emerged to restore the greatness and empire of the Arab Empire, which follows the same Ba'athist plan in a different guise. If we look more closely into ISIS slogan (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), it was first promoted by Aflaq (1952) and his Baath party's manifesto. As we know, the Ba'athists committed Halabja and Anfal in Kurdistan with Saddam Hussein, and ISIS tried to demolish both the Kurdish regional governments in Iraq and Syria, and repeated Saddam's crimes against Kurd in Sinjar.

Median/Mithras Government/Contract

The paradigm of Kurdish government, unlike the Iranian/Arabic government, which was the pattern of conquest, was the pattern of the contract. If we look at the Kurdish regional governments in Iraq (Bashor) and Syria (Rojava), we can observe the relative democracy has formed by contracts and agreements between parties. In addition, we cannot find any plan to conquer or plunder other lands what Saddam, Islamic Republic of Iran, Erdogan, and Isis did or are doing. as well as we cannot see any metaphysics legitimacy around both authorities. Furthermore, in the whole of the Middle East, with the exception of Israel, it is only in Kurdistan that Islamic groups have not been able to gain power through the electoral system. Just as the modern governments of Iran, Turkey, and the Arabs, in the guise of modern state, are a reproduction of the old empires, so are the Kurdish governments today a reproduction of the old political system

Unconsciously. Which political system exists in the unconscious and political imagination of the Kurds?

We do not have any documents in which Diako, who founded the median government, considered himself as chosen by God or encouraged his own people to plunder the treasures of the other tribes, as a God beyond the earth did not mean anything in the Mede. These were the Median tribes who chose Diako as leader without any promise of booty/conquest and merely as the result of the fame of his justice. Thus, the Median government and its leader, unlike Muhammad/Cyrus, was not chosen by God, but it was chosen by the people and from the bottom to the top, and its aim was not domination and plundering, but it was justice/arbitration and disposal of the domination and plundering of the other (Assyria). God was the same as king in the Mede, he was the creation of the people's contract.

"According to Herodotus' narration, when lawlessness had spread in the Mede, a person named Diako actualized a government out of naught as the result of the tribes' agreement and the legal protocol (Muson, 2009: 459). To examine this more, we quote from the father of the historian, Herodotus, who wrote: "The Medes were in the sporadic villages and they had no central government; thus, anarchy spread out all across that land. Diokes, who was a prominent man in his village, practiced justice with much zeal among his fellow countrymen . . . The people of the village, who observed his greatness and magnificent, chose him as a judge of their differences . . . (Diokes) gained so much credit among his fellow countrymen that attracted the attention of the people living in the surrounding villages . . . they referred their numer-ous quarrels to him to ssolve with content (Herodotus, 1387/2008: 76-77). As Herodotus has also pointed out, the Median government was based on arbitration and the need for judgment (Mirzaee, 1379/2000: 233), acceptance, popular choice, and ultimately repelling the foreign enemies. Unlike Iranians /Islam, there is no mention of the divine right of kings (metaphysical legitimacy), royal race and ancestry, the thirst of the

pursuit of other nations' riches and gaining the plundering in the Median government. As a matter of fact, he was known due to his respect in judgement among the members of the tribes (Bivar, 2005: 342). People chose Diako as the judge (Kuhrt, 2010, 34) and the contract was the builder and the founder of the Median government, a government that stepped from non-being into existence merely as the result of the people's con-tract and content.

Gerard Newly, who rightly observed the trend of choosing the king among the Persians and the Medians, was able to observe a transformation in this procedure. He testified an association (the general election) in selecting Diako in the Medes based on the reports of Herodotus- and a divine or Godly sign of Cyrus (chosen on behalf of Allah) (Newly in Wiesehofer, 179). In a description given about the selection of Dieokes to the kingdom among the Medes, Herodotus talked of the real choice (Munson, 2009, 461). The king of the Mede was chosen as Diako based on election and it was in a time when the power was suspended and the best form of government guaranteed pioneering the state order (Dewald in Morgan, 2003: 28). The reports of Herodotus about the choice of the king among the Medes corresponds well with what Strawbon states: "This is a Median tradition; they elected the most fearless person as the king but only among the residents of the mountain" (Widdengern, 1390/2011: 148). Therefore, the Medes received their king by choice (ibid: 149). The site of this choice was Hegmatane, which means the place of society and the agreement (Grishman, 1388/2009: 116).

"the Medes which were described by the Assyrian inscriptions were 27 independent kings, and there is no account that the internal situation of the Mede tribes has evolved along the lines of the union of the tribes and the superior chiefs who could be called as the king of the Mede (Briant, ibid: 41). Even, Liverani do not accept the Herodotus' view of transition to superior chiefs such as Diako and Hokhestera because there are references to "Bil Alani" meaning "City

Lords" and also to the number and plurality of the kings in Zagros region of the Mede in all sources. City lords have only reached agreement to confront Ashour under the command of the superior leaders and after the defeat of Ashur, they have immediately returned to the old plural order of the kings (Waters, 2201: 245-46). Throughout the period that the Medes were at the peak of their glory, the selection was the only rule that determined the theory of the Imperial successor (Liveranl, 2003,2). In accordance with the Assyrian sources in the Mede, the city lords were governing and there is no document accounting for the existence of the royal lineage that other tribes have accepted its authority (ibid: 4). The leadership of Hokheshatara was also actualized not by removing the local rulers but by being appointed from their part (ibid: 7). The Medes dominance over central Asia was more like alliances with local elders than the formation of the empire (Briant, 1380/2001: 35). By transferring the government from the Medes to the Persians, the government was changed from the arbitration and judgement between the people the government and sovereignty over the people (Rezaie, 1384/2005: 12), it turned from the popular government into the government over the people.

Zoroasterianism was the foundation of the Iranian political reason and Islam was the foundation of the Arab political reason. Thus, we should ask what ritual the identity foundation of the Medes was in the period when the divine right of kings and king-priest being was the currency of the time. We say that the Medes chose their kings according to social contract and general election (not in its modern and democratic sense). The ancient ritual of the Medes/Kurds was Mithraism. It was not the Mithra that was sealed as Zoroastrian/Iranian and its meaning changed into sun-worshipping, but an earlier Median Mithra that means the social contract. Thieme regarded Mithra as equal and analogous to

Rousseau's social contract and even more progressive than it. Mithra was a Median/Kurdish ritual (Widingern, 1377/1998: 170; Herodotus in Christensen, 1382/2003: 70; Hofer, Closka, 1385/2006: 365; Rostampour, 1381/2002: 26).

"Mithra means treaty and contract, and there is no evidence that the term Mithra originally meant as light or sunlight" Schmidt in Closka, 1385/2006: 388390). Mia conceived Mithra as the embodiment of the Treaty of Justice as Temith which in Greece is the visualization of justice (Mia, cited in Schmidt, *ibid*: 387). Then Paul Thieme defended the "Mia" theory that Mithra is a neutral concept meaning the Treaty (Hofer, Closka, *ibid*: 361). The Concept of Mithra ... is the holiness of official exchanged vows, contract, covenant, and contract As Mia has proven, "Mithra is not the God of the Sun or any other natural phenomenon considered as God, but the embodiment of the sacred concept of the Treaty" (Thieme, Closka, *ibid*: 554). "The ritual of Mithra necessitates brotherhood and adores it, but it ignores the nobles and it require the government of justice (Bahar, 1384/2005: 453). In contrast to the myths and the ancient epics, which proves the aristocratic structure, there are some myths such as Mithra which are skeptical and rebellious to the current structure (*ibid*: 454).

Although, the Mithras ritual has been self- consciously forgotten, they have remained in their historical unconsciousness and symbolic memory. The symbolic memory of the Kurds is full of Mitra's reminiscence. in Rojava, we see a system of social contract and federalism it is called Democratic selfgovernment which is revived of Mithras contract. The conflict between ISIS, Turkey and Iran with the democratic rule of the Kurds in Syria is the conflict of history with post history, the empire with federalism, the dictatorship with democracy.

Conclusion

What was stated in this article was the comparison of the principle and nature of the three government of the Iranian (the empire), Arabic (the caliphate) and Kurdish (social contract), as the result of their religious culture and understanding (Zoroastrian, Islam and Mithra). The method of the study was the comparative work and the analysis model of Marx's sociology in which we changed the criticism of heaven into the criticism of the earth, critique of religion into the critique of the rights and critique of theology into politics via smoking the sanctities. The truth reality of Islam and Zoroastrianism is the ethnic domination of Arabs and Persians. The truth of the Iranian and Arabic religion and culture is the power tool and the relations of the ethnic domination of Arabs and Pars.

Therefore, the results of this study indicate that the government not only in the West but in the Middle East (Iran/Arab) is neither the replacement of God, nor the natural phenomenon nor the representative of the general interests, but the reproduction or the dominion instrument of the production force of the superior group owner. The group owning the production force, the ethnicity/tribe is Arab/Pers and the production force is not labor and capital, but looting and plundering (trophy (spoil), Zakat, taxes and ...) of the others who Zoroaster and Islam gave legitimacy to them. The dominant Arab/Ghuraish and Pers/Achamanid tribe/ethnicity turned into the superior class and the multiethnic empire aristocracy and the top of the pyramid of the new government as the result of plundering the defeated tribes; hence, the defeated ethnic groups changed into the inferior tribe and they were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. They transformed the government and the tribal militia to the hierarchical government and the institutionalized military power, i.e. the empire/caliphate with the foundation cement of Islam/Zoroastrian to maintain hegemony, to continue looting and to prevent the uprising of the vanquished and defeated tribes, who became the lower class and the slave of the new system.

After the domination acquired with the military power and the ethnic prejudice, the government and religion and law became the control tool of the domination. In fact, Iranian and Arabic politics was the continuation of war and ethnic violence, and their whole laws, religion, culture are the internalization of the ethnic/class violence of the ruling Persian/Arabic. The foundation of the government, and the Iranian/Arabic religion, culture, and rights are the production force to plunder others' capital and conquer their land, which legalized in the form of Zakat, Jizia, and tax, while the foundation of the Mede/Kurd government was not based on looting, but it was its own preservation from being looted and its nature was the social contract. What we noted based of history can be seen today, if we compare Republic Islamic, Isis and Turkey with Government of Iraqi Kurdistan and Rojava in Syrian. Ethnic will is a major factor in the Middle East crisis. There is no ethnic will among Persians, Turks and Arabs for stability and democracy because there is no place for human concepts and democracy in their political and historical mentality.

The political theology of Zarathustra and Mitra

Abstract:

Zoroaster set up the foundation of »binary opposition« of Iranian wisdom. There are goodness and »Ahura« at one end of this extreme and evil and Ahriman (Satan) at the other. Based on hierarchical structure of the galaxy (celestial) and heaven, we see »Amshaspends« (Seven Angels) at the top goodness end of this

opposition and according to terrestrial order, we see terrestrial order and social agreement at the evil end. The markers of this opposition are soul VS body, light VS darkness, cow VS lion, snake VS eagle and happiness VS ethical restrictions. This article aims at finding rules hidden in Zoroaster's political theology and its binary opposition, its signs and the way that the goodness and positive signs found meaning against "the others" or the evil in Iranian wisdom set. the backstage of goodness and evil ideology of Zoroaster and abstracted ethnic/political struggle into a totemic one. Further, it wants to find the political and historical roots of this ideology and its relation with the action and the reaction of two ethnic groups of Fars and Mad, that is, through the discovery of the negative and evil side of Zoroastrianism, "the other" or anti-Iranian of Iranian political wisdom is revealed.

Introduction

Zoroaster conceived himself as the prophet of God, messenger of ethic heavenly values and his purpose as that of realizing the kingdom of God – Kheshtera- on the earth (Hinz, 1386: 36). he defined some moral/heavenly values for mankind for the first time on a regular bases and beyond the earth and social values and called for the fulfillment and observance of these heavenly/religious principles on earth, to the point where Nietzsche was the forerunner of God's death and

metaphysical and moral values, sharply attacked Zoroaster and his ethical values in the book, "Zarathustra said so". Zoroaster has had a great influence on other religions. Many of the other monotheistic religions borrowed the concepts of paradise and hell, Satan (Ahriman), and the Hereafter, and ... from Zoroaster's religion (Bahar, 2005, 65). Even the Jewish religion took the spiritual dimension and the belief I hereafer after familiarizing itself with the Zoroastrianism. (Moulton, 1387/2008: 114). What does Satan signify and where did it come from? Satan/Devil is constructed by Zoroaster; then, to answer this question, one must understand the philosophy behind the philosophy of Zoroaster's emergence and "the other" of him.

To discover binary oppositions, we should start from Zero and the time when goodness VS badness, earth VS heaven and Logos from Aroos were separated and this separation changed into reality. Therefore, Zoroaster's binary opposition are as follows goodness against evil, Amshaspandan (Angels) and terrestrial order with its hierarchical principle VS terrestrial order and social contract, soul VS flesh (body) and instinct, Cow VS lion, and eagle VS snake.

Now, we aim at understanding these signs versus each other and discovering an imponderable domain in contrast to it Zoroaster set up its signs to form his own truth. Therefore, the question goes as what is the religion, ethnicity or culture or hegemony which Zoroaster established its positive signs against it? We assume that the establishment of Zoroaster's signs signifies the political arena of emerging Iranian/Persian dominance in history after dying realm of Medes in one hand and the appearance of metaphysics-history versus earthly culture of Medians-Mithraism. the religion of Zoroaster is a reflection of the "we"/the other of Pers, i.e. the Mede/Mithra and the myths/religion are the hegemonic instrument of the Pers domination in giving legitimacy to itself and rejecting and cursing the other/the Mede. This means that the conflict between good and evil in the religion of Zoroaster was a reflection of the ethnic and political conflict

between Persia and Media And the foundation of metaphysics was political physics.

Theoretical Bases

Every identity and intellectuality require the opposite or "the other" to establish its meaning than the fact and the truth. Contrast is based on differences and no identity is meaningful by itself and its meaning is achieved through the contradiction with "the other" (Dreeda, 1981,35). He thinks that the base of metaphysics is realized through the fundamental assumption that every sign involves its own signified. He further adds that in the history of west philosophy there always has been this assumption that meaning is present in speech (discourse) and ration (logos) and he has called this the metaphysics of presence. He also thinks that philosophical ration has always constructed the binary opposition such as nurture/nature, sense/mind, woman/man, writing/speaking, existence/absence, true/false, lying/truth, body/soul; the contrastive cases are the negative and nebulization of each other. In his view 'the other' is prior to the difference between sign and signed; it is precondition of each language system and thus each thought. Derrida forgot that, as Sartre pointed out, the root of conceptual confrontation is political confrontation. It is assumed in this study that "the other" of language system whether revelation in Zoroastrian is Mithraism and its symbols Which are a reflection of the "we"/the other of Pers contrast to Medes.

The philosophy of Zoroaster's emergence: Ahura and Ahriman

Plato designed philosophy and metaphysics in contrast with social contract theory and dark caves. Abraham preached the holy and heavenly (divine) God in contradiction with idolatry.

Unless there did not exist the crisis of idolatry and immorality, the Islamic religion did not appear to reform it. If the insularity crisis in Jewish religion and the relationship of anger to God did not come across, Jesus did not appear with his peaceful and universal message. Therefore, there have had been a crisis that Zoroaster showed up in order to put it upright.

Against which religion did Zoroaster found his faith? What did Zoroaster or spiteful chaplain hate that made it the symbol of evil and against it stabilize the sign of goodness? Every philosophical ration emerges against crises to put forward solutions. What was the crisis in Zoroaster time that made evil world formed in his mind and promised a new goodness world against it? What is the demon that Zoroaster signalized Ormazd in contrast with it and what its markers are? Thus, what was the philosophy of the emergence and the rise of Zoroastrian religion? Hegel says this about philosophy, "the owl of Manirava flies at the sunset," that is, whenever there happens a crisis, philosophy will emerge to resolve the crisis. This is true of religion as well.

Avesta

Based on Avesta, the philosophy of Zoroaster emergence is to protect the spirit of cow in cow killing ceremonies. Hot 29 is about the complaint of "cow's spirit". Unto you wailed the Ox-soul, "For whom did ye fashion me? Who created me? Violence and rapine (and) savagery hath oppressed me, and outrage and might. I have no other herdsman than you; prepare for me then the blessings of pasture." According to Hots the complaint of the cow's spirit about becoming the victim is the cause of rising Zoroaster. Ashe (universal discipline) evades cow's questions and grumbles ad refers the complaint to God the superior and God

selects Zoroaster to protect it (Hinlz,2006, 142.Razi,1381,244). The result of cow's complaint is the appointment Zoroaster and pioneering the human law (Gimen,1999,54). Cow killing provokes the Zoroaster's feelings and sensations, and, in response, announces that he has stood up to protect the cow's spirit. In book 7 of »Dinkird« Mazda created »Frevashi« (Angels) or "Zoroaster" at the end of the second three millennia era when »Minok«(spirituality) turns into a paradise free from sin (Razi 1381: 242). However, this Frewashi(soul) remains among Emshaspendan(Angels) during this three millennia era. At the onset of the second three millennia era when Demon mobilizes corruption, Mazda decides to send Zoroaster to put (discipline) the world into order (Niberg,in Dehbashi,2009,113). The central core of all the calendars indicate that Zoroaster rose at a time when a terrible "crime " happened in the world. He appeared to reestablish the order in the world. According to the content of the Hots, the crime that Ahriman (Demon) committed was killing the sacred cow which is the best and the first creature of Mazda (Niberg, Ibid,114). Therefore, based on both Hots and calanders, Zoroaster emergence was in defense of cow against Demon.

The contents of the Hots(Gathas)

The main subject of the Hots, Zoroaster's own words, is the struggle against cow killing by Mithras. Mithras were killing the cow and drinking the intoxicating drinks in dark caves and dancing. Zoroaster were calling them the enemies of truth, Ahuora, cow and the sun. He also was cursing these liars (yasna 31,32.1214. Gatha 32/10. Razi,2002.68. Hints,2007,175). A question posed is: who kills the cows? The answer is clear: Demon. " ... Killing the cow is in contradiction with Zoroaster's religion as the opponents of cow killing and Zoroaster calls the cow killer as Demon (Fongal, Koleksa). However, the more significant and basic question is: What did Demon or evil symbolize? And who

hold cow killing ceremony which Zoroaster rose to bring it to an end. Which people had such a ceremony that Zoroaster symbolized it as evil and it turned into the central sign or "the other" of Zoroaster's religion, his corresponding God or the Satan. Researchers think that Mithras was a great God before Zoroaster time and he turned against and rejected it. In Zoroaster and is God's (mazda) viewpoint killing the cow was the Demin' sin. But how is it related to Mithras (Bois,2005,110-109. Gimen,1996,17).

Based on inscriptions and ancient remains, the main purpose of Mithras was killing the cow with dancing and Sema (Zenner in koloska,2006,48. razi,2002,304). Nonetheless, as Ernest well pointed out this was not sacrificing the cow but fighting ad killing i(ville in kloska ibid,583-84)t. Sacrificing or killing the cow in Mithraism was in direct contrast with Zoroastrianism as its opponents. Iranians know Demon as the cow killers (Fongal in kloska,574). However, before giving this role to Demon, it was Mithras who was killing the bull (Gimen,1999,53). Therefore, The Demon in Zoroaster's view was Mithras (Boyse,1998,7. Molton,2006,62-61. Hinlz,2006,128) and "the other" of his binary opposition was Mithras. Mithras is notorious as Demon and evil and contrasting it was Mazda and Goodness. Mithra was the Devil called Satan in Jewish and Christianity (Bahar,2004,421).

The other of Zoroaster's Dualism

Henning (in Gimen,1985,13) believe that monotheism movements were complaints against Duality as responses to evil and not conforming to the God "Almighty". Based on Henning the best way to understand Zoroastrianism religion as a dualism is that we see opposition to monotheism in it(ibid,2002,4). Zoroaster designed absolute goodness which carries out nothing but goodness. Therefore, a second principle needed to be contrived to explicate the universal disorder and life's miseries (Gimen,1999,3). There existed in the beginning two

great essences: purity and filthy, purity told filthy: we never compromise in thought, teaching, demand, will and action. From the onset, there were two Minooes(sprit.soul) called best and worse that angelically showed them to be twins, the wise people and Mazda followers chose truth and unwise selected demon. When these two met each other, they founded the being and non-being (Yasna 30,5-3, Molton,2008,54).

What is the universal disorder and life's miseries that forced Zoroaster to contrive the second demon principle. E.g. evil? And among which ethnic group was it in vogue? Geldner and Barthelme (Gimen,1984,49. Jackson in Molton,2008,40) believed that Zoroaster rose among Medians where Mithraism was popular and he was to escape to the east. Where can I escape and flee to? Neither the people nor the rulers of this land are satisfied with me? (Yasna,46.1) Based on Barthelme's idea, Zoroaster the image of the evil world formed in his mind after fleeing from the Medians and the objective reference of evil was Mithraism in his doctrine. It was powerful influence of Mithraism that made him think about two spirits: "If there is only goodness why evil is progressing so fast? Therefore, the image of evil as contrasting with his goodness ideology was abstracted based on Mithraism culture among the Medians. They killed the cows in dark caves and were dancing and drinking Hume (a drunken plant) instead of prayer.

A question that poses us is what does cow symbolise that Mithra tries to kill and Zoroaster to defend it creates Ahuora (God). What does cow outstand against? and binary opposition of Ahuora versus Demon led us to the Zoroastrianism versus Mithraism and as the result cow versus lion.

Symbolic Opposition of Cow versus Lion

The first creature of Mazda was the sacred cow and Mitra's sin was killing the cow; therefore, Mithras was entitled as Demon (Veres in Kloska,2006,200). Cow

is the symbol of heaven. The sperm of Fridon, Zoroaster and Keopia was transferred to the uterus (womb) of their mother through cow's milk. Ferwahar Zoroaster was transmitted through the milk. Based on Zat Sperm, »Ferwahar « Zoroaster was in the sacred plant of Hom (Razi,2001,28). That plant transferred to the cow milk, Zoroaster's father ate it and through him was transferred to his mother. Cow as well as eagle was the totem of Iranians. »Kawiani's« flag is derived from the word "cow" (Safa,2004,572). Most of the Perspolis's column arch's and pictograms are decorated in the shape of cow. Two cows having wings are scrubbed on the top main gate entrance of Perspolis (Yamauchi,2010,376). The other pictography of Perspolis is the fighting between cow and lion and cow killing by the hand of Mithras. Later on, Mithras was turned into Demon and the lion became the symbol of the Mithras while was always appearing as the enemy (Bahar,2004,180-198). The prettiest seal of Daryosh the first shows him hunting a lion in date tree forest and under the support of Mazda (Cook,2004, 132.Boyce,1996,152).

The lion hunting scene is pictured times in Perspolis. A real bull under his feet is turning its head back to fight the lion which wants to tear its head down. As the bull is the symbol of usefulness and goodness in Zoroasterism, some say this picture indicates battle between Demon and Mazda as evil and goodness respectively. Lion symbolizes the dirty forces (Boyse,1998,156). Cow as the symbol of Persia/Arians is in contrast with lion as the totem of Mithras/Medians. All the inscriptions and epigraphs remaining in caverns (Mihrabes) depict Mithras along with snake, scrub, lion during hunting or cow killing. Snake, scrub and lion are the symbols of Mithraism(vermasseren,1965,95). Those who obtain the status of lion have a special place in the front line in Mithraism ceremonies. Mithras is illustrated with the human body and a lion's head with a snake around it (Hinlz,2008, 128.boyce,1998, 152.Hintz,218-219).

Despite the arch of Perspolis and most other symbols of Persians, ancient traces and symbols of Medians are shown in the shape of lions (Girishman,1997,25.

Yamaoji,2001,358). Lion as the creature of demon and is satanic is not the sign of goodness in Zoroastrianism (Boyse,1996,157). The struggle of the cow with lion and the hunter of lion by Haxamanids kings is not only the reproduction of the traditional pattern of Mazda's struggle with Demon, but also it is the symbol of the Persian struggle and hunting of the Medians. Therefore, lion is the totem and symbol of Medians as the cow is the sign of Persians. These two totem's struggles are the illustration of the fighting between two rivalry ethnic groups of Zoroastrian Persian/Iranian and Mithraism Median. Nowadays, this old tradition of cow killing and the holiness of lion is still symbolically existing among the Kurds from Izadians in Lalesh to Yarians in Hawraman and Dalaho. Cow holiness, as the sign of heaven and the spirit of the universe, is significant in opposition with the lion as the marker of the self, instinct and the earth. In other words, the holiness of cow versus the lion is the sign of soul and metaphysics emergence against the matter and the earth. Thus, the opposition of Zoroastrian/Iranian ration with Mithraism/Kurds is the opposition of the sky with the earth and the opposition of legitimacy of metaphysics/ kings' divine right against the earthly contractual legitimacy.

Kings' divine rights of Zoroaster versus contractual legitimacy of Mithras

As mentioned before, "the other" of Ahura e.g. Demon, is Mithras being the killer of the sacred cow in accompany with a lion. Based on this, we arrived at another binary opposition of cow VS lion. Are other negative signals abstracted on Mithraism. Here we mean the former not the later Mithras concocted by the Zoroasterian sacred man and beiged as sun worshipper (Poordawood). Now we leave this to those interested to do research on this issue and focus on another binary opposition rooted in the religions of two ethnic groups of Persians as

Zoroastrianism and Medians as Mithraism, that is, Kings' divine rights of Zoroaster versus contractual legitimacy of Mithras.

There is no evidence in Avesta or Veda that the word "Mithras" means sun or light or implies sun worshipping; thus, this denotation was added later (Schmidt in Kloska,2006,388-390). The song of sun and Mithras are two separate songs in Avesta (Razi,2002,413). Millet (in Schmitt, *ibid*,387) rejected the prevailing view that Mithras was the God of the sun and light and regarded Mithra as the illustration of contract: " Mithras concept annotate the sanity of official communicated agreements e.g. contract. Theime also (in Closca, *ibid*,554) defended Millet idea. Whatsoever is not mere contract is secondary and god of Mithras is the result of the personification and transformation of the common meaning of Mithras e.g. contract/agreement (Millet,2004,15-16). Thus, Mithras was first the god of contract which later its meaning was extended to involve the god of the sun or the god of war (Hinz,2007,72). Mithras organizes the society based on contract (Hinz,2006,119). However, Ahuora observes the order based on obedience in Zoroastrianism and obedience is the superior to everything else (*ibid*,76). Mithraism requires and praises brotherhood and the superiority of justice and ignores the nobles. Zoroaster set up the galaxy order and hierarchical justice "Ashe" in contrast with contractual order and agreement justice of Mithras (Bahar,2005,453). Mazda analogizes the goodness religion to a tree with three branches along four social classes of... and the king of kings standing over all of them. The most complete philosophical example in Zoroastrianism is complying religion with government.

Religion and government depend on each other and the symbol of both is the king of kings. Iranian King is the guardian of justice and order along with religion and reality(zaeher,2005,88) .therefore, Ashe (the Platonic justice) is the base of Zoroastrianism's order and justice against contract (concord and brotherhood); Ashe in the form of hierarchical terrestrial order establishes social classes and the unifies religion and government in which the earthly order is the

continuation of galaxy's hierarchical order with absolute God in the top corresponding with its earthy symmetry i. g. the king owning sanity and the people should absolutely obeyed him (Boyce,1996,142). Therefore, Zoroaster is the messenger of galaxy/hierarchical order and the unity of religion and government along with the gods' sanity or (divine right of kings) realizing in the kingdom of Haxamanids. These concepts were represented in contrast with the social contract of Mithraism with its political form realizing in electing Diako through public choice. In Zoroastrianism, the opponents of the kingdom's political order are displayed in the shape of Demon and Dragon. Disorder is illustrated in the form of dragon a God establishes order through killing the dragon (Hinz, ibid,153), for instance killing Azhi dahaka /Zahak by Feridon in Iranian/Zoroastrianism mythology. Next, we will come to the opposition of snake versus eagle as another binary opposition of Zoroaster against Mithras.

Opposition of snake versus eagle

Mithras is shown with human body, lion's head and a snake/dragon around it (Fongal in Kloska, ibid, 563.Razi,2002,298). While Zoroaster calls snake the biggest lie, the creature of Demon and the destroyer of the world (Pirnia, 2004:102). In Vindidad, snake is considered as a demon creature and its killing is a duty as Mobids had an instrument called snake killer (Razi, 2013:180). Snake is the symbol of happiness, earth and sexuality and its killing is beneficial. Sexual and satanic stimulation of Zahak is depicted through the growth of the snake on his shoulders. Snake is the symbol of earth in opposition with eagle as the sign of the heaven (Fongal, ibid,571). It is snake that stimulate Hawa (Eve) to eat the knowledge (Bible, Chapter3) through which human became aware of goodness and badness needless of Gods' laws and orders. Zahak is pictured three headed with two snakes on his shoulders.

In contrast to snake, it is eagle which is sacred in Zoroasterian wisdom. In their national and religious celebrations, King's Sanity is always linked with a bird of prey "eagle" (Shahbazi, 1971:142) and eagle is the symbol of Hexaminaids and Iranian kings (Cook,2004,265 Razi,2006,64-65 Cook, Berian,2001,169). Up to the waist of Ahura is always depicted in the form of eagle (Shahbazi, ibid:141). When Niche said that he saw an eagle and a snake as two friends, he connotes (implies) the break of dualism and the end of the sky (eagle) and the earth (snake) opposition. Therefore, the battle between the symbols of snake and eagle as totems of Mithras VS Zoroaster is the symbol of their political and ethnic conflict, in metaphysical religions, the sky is the sign of lightness and the earth is the marker of darkness

Light versus darkness

Mithras rises after the sunset and sets after the sunrise against the direction of the sun. The sun and Mithras are two distinct gods in most of Pahlavi religious texts including Pazand and Mehryasht (Vermaseren,1956,8). Mithras rise in the mountain before the sunrise, it scouts in the sunset and it moves from the west to the east (Mehryast,24). Therefore, Mithras has never been the sun but the god of the night and the stars. Mithras's rising and setting is the reverse of the sun. It rises in the west after the sunset and set in the east before the sunrise. In fact, the sunrise is the Mithras set (as the rise of Iranians and Zoroaster was the setting of Medians and Mithras. In fact, Zoroaster focused on the brightness of fire, light and the sun against the Mithras's darkness of caverns. Hegel did not realize that "the other" of Zoroaster's light, as the onset of history, was the darkness of Mithras caves not the nature. In the same way, "the other" of the Divine right of Korosh(Cyrus) the King was not the natural order but the social order (Contract) of Mithras/ Mehr.

To prove that Mithras has not been the sun but anti-sun, we can refer to Mihrabas and the picture scribed on the rocks about the Mithras' emergences in addition to Mehryasht(Book) all over the world. We can also find the traces of Mithras in Lalesh Shrine and Karafloo cave as destroyed through the enmity of Zoroaster's religion ad Daryoush (Hinz,2007,371). Therefore, we have to refer to the Mehrabas in the other parts of the world as the remaining of Median Mehrabas since those in Media has been Iranianized or Zoroasteized. First, we will make clear the emergence of Mithras from the heart of rocks.

In epigraphs and images found from the generation of Mithras, he has worn a Phrygian cap on his head holding a torch in his left hand and a knife in his right hand to kill the cow one day (Vermasern in Gerevich,2011.93). The first battle of Mithras to succeed on his mission is struggling with the sun, defeating and subduing it (Razi,2002,297-304). Mithras is introduced in HOTs as the cow killer and the sun defater. Therefore, Mithras is not only the sun but his main prophecy is to confront and turn against the sun. Biwar believes that Mithras is linked with the god of underground or dead world of Mezopotamia e.g. Nargel (Hades) (Hensman, kloska, ibid,255). The torch held in Mithras' left hand is the sign of anti-sun attitude hence it is used in places where there is no sun and dark caves. Where we have the sun light, there is no need to use the torch as it is utilized in Lalesh shrine or cavern. There are the entire Mehrabas all over the world inside the dark caverns far away from the sun. Mithras worship their god inside very dark caves where as though there hide the demon's blurs and they escape from the lighting (Mtrinos in Razi, ibid,274).

But why did they held all the Mithras celebrations inside stony caves and " all their Mihrabas were in undergrounds (ibid,36) and why did they build artificial caves under the ground without any lighting where they had no access to natural caves (ibid,273). Cave is defined as the symbol of darkness in contrast to the reality, sky lighting and the sun. Azhidahak/Zohak is not killed after being captured by Fridon but he is jailed and chained in a cave in Damawand

(Safa,2004,462). Ebne Asir narrates that " Fridon met with Soleman the son of David... he was imprisoned in Damawand and Soleman said chain him so that he will not move, then two men beaten and closed the door of the cave and Azhidahak was jailed forever since he will not ever die (Ebne Asir,2006, G1,81). Also, Korosh kept Astiag alive after he was sucumbed, then he was sent into a cave and tied and chained his hands and feet (Ketsyas, Fotoyus,2000,17). Medosa lives inside a cave in an underground world of Hades in Greek myths. The inhabitants of Plato's cave are also the signs of darkness and ignorance (Kapleston,2009,90). The inhabitant of Plato's cave are the folks who spend their lives in daydreams and illusions. They only see the shadow of reality. Because of their lust and prejudices, they are diverted from the reality and their lives are not better than the children's. Therefore, they cannot be conducted towards the reality of the lighting as they are blinded due to the sun's glare and see the shadows more real than the realities. Transition from the dark world of the cave to the universe of the light ad fire is the transition from the world of prejudices, lust and sophistication to the world of sensations (perceptions) and thus to the world of ration and reality. The sun represents the example of goodness and typical and the source of reality and wisdom (ibid,190-191). The cave example is not the creation of Plato but he utilized Fisaghores itinerary illustrating Mithraism's ceremonies inside the cavern as the Zoroaster's emphasis on light and fire is not accidental but a reaction against the Mithraism's dark caves. Therefore, Plato's ignorance cave similar to Zoroaster's cave is addressing Mithras. As Hideger and Arent described the Plato's example cave is the onset of the west political philosophy which abstracted the example world in contrast to the cave. Niche accused Plato of enmity and hatred towards this world through building a supreme world based on presuppositions and ethical interests (Niche in Copleston, ibid,273). Niche considered Apollon's god as the result of human being's weakness in dealing with the universe's tragic realities which should be welcomed with Dionysian dance instead of the religion and ration illusion. Niche

showed an uttermost skill in recognizing the origin and the source of Apollonian and Zoroaster; however, in realizing its opposition e.g. Dionysians he went astray to the Greece to find Dionysiasm or Mithra. He did not notice that Dionysian, according to Kasirer, is the Greek's form of Zagros which was taken to Greek by Orfosi religion as based on Raseel and had great impact on Athena's tragedies (Rasel,2005,37). In following section, we investigate another binary opposition of earthly paradise of Mithraism versus heavenly paradise of Zoroasterism and other metaphysical religions.

Spirituality and Hereafter in Opposition with Earthly Paradise

Hots No. 9-11 are called Hom yasht. In fact, these three Hots were among Yashts or Mithras' content reshaped in Zoroastrian form and inserted among Yasna's Hots (Razi,2002,114). In sections 19 up to 23 of these three Hots ancient elements of Mithrain Yashts have been narrated. There, corporeal/earthly elements and disbelief in hereafter and soul are beautifully illustrated. There are several requests from Hom which all are related to this world and body. " O Hom, ..bright (and) all comfortable... O Hom, warding off sickness... health of this body. O Hom, ... long existence of life... I may move about (or I may rule) on (this) earth as asyhaving fulfilled my desires, courageous, satisfied, the destroyer of malice (and) the spreader of falsehood"(Hom yesht,in Razi,ibid,115). In Mithraism there were request for long existence of life , health of the body and ... since they had no belief in hereafter and they believed that soul dies along with the body. Therefore, there is no such dualism of soul versus body as Zoroaster, Plato, Mani and Jesus and ...believed them.

Moreover, In Mehr Yasht, Fortune involves not praising the God but requests for freeing the body as the best life and bodily health and comfort is the most important of all and there is no reference to the freedom of soul, life hereafter and mystical intuition.

The culture or anti-culture of Dionyzian/corporeal Mithraism is displayed not only in MehrYasht but in most historical inscriptions. Perhaps the oldest inscription of Mithras is the one found in eastern Turkey or Northern Kurdistan in Namroud Dag called Antixos Komazhen (Hemsman in koloska, ibid,116). This inscription is clearly under Mitani and Mithraism ritual (Ashtyani,2006,10). Based on Gimān analysis we confront a scenery opposing to all ancient beliefs: there is no promise about hereafter but good life, good food and good drinks. In one hand we encounter wine, musical players, dance and drunken and in the other side we observe no Zoroastrian saints (the Mugas) or fire temples proving its irrelevance with Iranian religion (Gimen,ibid,227-229). A Gimān said there is musician instead of Magi, wine, drinking and girl musician instead of hymes and prayers. Thus, Mithras fortune is not spiritual and hereafter-generated but related to this world's corporeal happiness.

In contrast, in Zoroastrian, human body is a tool to serve the soul and ration a device to announce the Ahura Mazda religion (Zehnear,1998,22). "After the creation of Mashi and Mashiana, Hormozd said: **first soul was created and then body, body was created for the soul and to serve it.** to get t to work....Hormoza told Mashi and Mashiana: you are the best people concerning wisdom and spread your religion by means of ration (pirnya,1997,14). Soul should not be forgotten for the sake of body (Zehnear, ibid,31). Therefore, Zoroaster stressed on the heaven, soul, spirituality and religious constraints in opposition with Mitra's earth, body, instinct and cheerfulness. In Zoroastrian body is the cage of the soul; however, in Mithraism soul is the cage of the body. Zoroaster founded the sacrifice of the self instead of the cow immolation. Mithraism ritual released the corporeal life and carried out dancing and reveling after cow immolation as a sign of the sacrifice of the soul and metaphysical illusions.

Conclusion

This article was an attempt to investigate the binary opposition of Zoroastrianism and "the other" of it e.g. Mithraism in relation with Persian political dominance in contrast to the political downfall of Medians. Even though Zoroaster was a Medians and rising in Media, he changed the whole previous connotation of Mithraism concepts and developed a new religion in direct contrast to the rituals of Median e.g. Mithraism. In this way, Mithraism and Medians were described as Demon, dragon and bluffs legitimizing dominance and violence of Persian-Aryains migrants- against Medians –Zagros aborigines-. In fact 'the other' of Zoroastrianism was also 'the other' of Persians. Aryans as a migrant ethnic group had no legitimacy among people as they couldn't accept social contract. Therefore, they moved the legitimacy up to the sky to forgive the legitimacy and stability to their political principle and dominance with the help of implacable messenger- Zoroaster. In other words, religion turned into the child of ethnic hegemony and gave it legitimacy similar to what Plato did in presenting philosophy to establish class domination against democracy.

Zoroaster's binary opposition formed epistemological basis of Iranian political ration realizing in ancient Iranian kingdom. The juror (arbitrator) of such a system is king – the terrestrial symmetry of Ahoura Mazda - and classes and nobles - the terrestrial symmetry of Amshaspandan(Angels).

Whatsoever agrees to the system of kingdom and its hierarchical order is righteous and good and opponents and rebellions were assumed as wicked and riot even though be in seek of equality like Mazdak. The symbols of goodness/positive or wickedness/negative were reproduced under the names of and. respectively. Geomate and Mazdak riots were described as the violence of Demon against the system of celestial (cosmic) and Koroush and Dariosh as the regenerators of Ahuora discipline and the destructors of violence. Thus,

Kourosh was the symbol of discipline and civilization and Medians or Azhidehak were the sign of violence.

The relation between Islam and Arab from Prophet to Isis

Abstract

Political Islam has become one of the most important issues of today's world and it is the main actor in the Middle East. According to some analysts, political

Islam by the negation of human values and democracy has deprived the region of stability and democracy. Some scholars find the root of political Islam in Islam itself. Others believe that a deviation from orthodox Islam has caused these challenges and see it as a response to modernism and postcolonial collective suppression. This essay aims to discuss the relationship between Islam as a divine belief and Arab nationalism/Assabyya as an earthly concept to find out Was Islam a project for Arab domination and hegemony from Prophet to ISIS or a universal and above-race religion to the salvation of humanity? Should we look for the root of Islam in Arab tribalism (Nation) culture or should we look into a divine mission within the Message?

Introduction

the prophet of Islam regarded his mission as gaining hands-on the treasures of Caesar and Kasra in the earliest days of his prophetic rising. Caesar and the Kasra were in the hands of two powerful empires of that time, i.e. Rome and Persia. It required a more powerful empire to defeat and destruct the two powerful empires to attain their treasures, which the peninsula, the location of the prophet's emergence, lacked such an empire. The formation of a powerful empire also required an inclusive and sacred religion/ideology. Therefore, all the

efforts of the Prophet were to transform the dispersal of the Arab tribes to the Ummah/Empire and to guide the warfare of the tribes outward. Thus, an unwritten treaty was established between the Prophet, Quraish aristocracy, and the Arab tribes. The contents of this treaty were: accepting the Islamic religion and the Prophethood of Muhammad by the Arab Quraish/tribes, giving the concessions of the trophies/bondwomen to the Arab tribes and preserving the aristocracy, and preserving the aristocracy and mastery of Quraish in the new Islamic civilization. With their zealotry and power, the Arab tribes expanded the religion of Islam; in return, the prophet put the property, the wives and daughters, and the occupied lands in the form of booties/bondwomen at their disposal. He not only preserved the superiority/aristocracy of Quraish on Arabs but also, made them the master of the entire empire/Caliphate. The political reason of Islam was codified with the stimulus of booty/conquest (tribes), the military arm of the Government/Caliphate (Qoriesh), and the legitimacy of that religion (the Prophet). Its foundation included the economic/instinctive wisdom of the Arab tribes, its masters and nobles were from the Quraish and its rules were the revelations of the prophet.

Quraysh social cohesion along with economic culture and the fighting force of the tribes coupled with Muhammad's leadership and holy/divine revelation constructed the political Islam mindset and manifest. Tribal Arab Asabyya (social cohesion) include bravery/valiance, robbery/rape, patriarchy/male domination, Quraysh political and economic aristocracy and Prophet revelation by using Quranic concepts of tax (Zakat)/booty, Jihad, slave/polygamy, is the three main components of Islamic political wisdom. He replaced the Quraysh aristocracy of blood with a religious aristocracy of disciples (Sahabah). He substitutes the Quranic verses with ancient Arabic poetry and replaced the killing and looting of tribes with the concepts of jihad and booty to unite the dispersion of Arab tribes in Islamic nation/Ummah. By granting the killings of infidels (Jihad), confiscation of their belonging (Anfal) and sovereignty of Islam over

infidel land (Caliphate), he formulated the Islamic political manifesto along with divine revelations (commandment). The productive and economic engine of this political Islam is booty and taxes, which can be achieved only through the conquest of infidel lands. Quran/Sharia and Caliphate/State are the two hegemonic and military arms of Arab domination.

Islam is a political strategy or an invitation to the hereafter

Despite the viewpoint of the researchers, conditions did not impose the formation of the government on the religion of Islam, but the invitation of the Prophet Muhammad also conveyed a clear message and political project from the beginning, that is, putting an end to the two governments of Iran and Rome and gaining the treasures of these two governments. "The historians mention a man named Afif Kendy, who said that I was a tradesman and came to Mecca to Abbas, the prophet's uncle, during the Haj pilgrimage. And when I was with him, a man came out and pray towards the Kaaba, then a woman came out and prayed with him, and then an adolescent joined them. 'What is this religion?' I asked Abbas. He said this is my nephew, Abdolla's son who is the prophet of Islam who claims that God has sent him and the treasures of Kasra and Caesar will be opened to him" (Tabari, Vol3, 1389/2010: 47-48; Ibn-e Asir, Vol2, 1370: 872; Jaberi, 1387/2008: 87). Furthermore, the prophet told the leaders of the Quraysh, who had gone to Abu Talib to complain about him, "tell me a statement so that you can get to the Arab kingdom with it and the Ajams (non-Arabs) knell down in front of you" (Ibn-e Asir, ibid: 882; Tabari, ibid: 54). In interpreting verse 26, the exegetists say: When the Prophet conquered the Mecca, he pledged his own Omat to the Kingdom of Iran and Rome when he conquered Mec-ca (Azemakhshari, 421, cited in Jaberi, 1387/2008: 87-89). In

this speech, the tacit agreement of the Quraish aristocracy is evident with the Prophet of Islam. The Quraish acceptance of Islam and the Prophets pledge of monarchy, which the tribes' interests/instincts in return to the development of religion was added to them later, clarifies that the aim of the Prophet from designing the Islamic religion was to reach the treasures of Kasra and Caesar and the union of scattered Arab tribes to form such an Empire.

The Arab tribes were scattered and they had numerous gods. To destroy the tribal differences and to unite them under the umbrella of superior power, the Prophet of Islam first absorbed and assimilated their gods in a great God called Allah; thus, he provides the theoric background for the sovereignty of unity over diversity. The nobles of the Quraish and the Arabian tribes also converted to Islam as the result of the political hegemony of Islam, which provided the ground for the mastery and centrality of Arabia, Quraish and Mecca. The opposition of the Quraish aristocracy was not to the religion but it was due to the economic loss from the profits of the Ka'aba idols (Jaberi, 1384/2005: 159). However, as soon as they found that Islam was not harmful to their commercial interests, and the new idol of Kaaba/pilgrimage would make more pilgrims come than their tribal idols. As the result, the trade would flourish resulting in having more profits for their businessmen, (Gibb, 1962/1983: 5) they not only refused to resist Islam but took the opportunity in competing together to serve it. The Prophet sent this message to them that Mecca and the nobles of the Quraish would preserve their aristocracy and trade under the banner of the Islamic pilgrimage through changing Qibla from Beitolmoqadas (Juerusalem) to Mecca adorsing Islamic tradition of Pilgrimage (Haj). "The pilgrimage of Muslims connotated that the profits of the Quraish from Haj and pilgrimage would not only be economically harmful to them but it would increase, too" (Jaberi, ibid: 187). Many of the principles of the prophet of Islam are presented along with the business issues and the technical terms of the Quran are full of business concepts

(Grunbaum, 33). The nobles of the Quraish, with the utilitarian motives, often had a formal belief in the new movement; hence, Islam did not break their economic independence. (Gibb, 1962: 5). The prophet knew the reason for Maccain's conversion to Islam and he gave more booties to new-converters to Islam in the conquest of Mecca since their beliefs were fragile. Indeed, the community of the Islam advent, as Bertram says, was a super-tribe (Thomas, 1937: 125). Islam employed and absorbed the compositional form of the tribe (Firhi, 1378/1999: 135).

As soon as the prophet turned from humanitarian slogans to the slogans of “kill in the course of God and ..., the Arabic tribes converted to Islam to plunder the capital of the other tribes. The Islam of the tribes, like the Islam of all Arabs and the Islam of those who were called hypocrites and the Islam of Ghoraish was all political Islam similar to the contract that the Arabic tribes signed with the leader of the victorious tribe in the time of Jahiliya (ignorance)” (Jaberi, ibid: 206). The first followers of Islam were those that were agitated in the hope of winning the spoils of war and conquest of the lands (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 37). The Arab fighters were motivated not due to pure devotion to the prophet, but with the vision of possessing the land and power (ibid: 58). The religious war in Islam led to the acquisition of vast possessions of land property because it was after the feudal interests of the land before anything (Weber, 1965/1986: 87). The Arab tribes converted to Islam because of the promise of war spoils or military threats (Gibb, ibid). The construction of the tribe not only supported the Prophet of Islam but also turned to the moving engine of the Islamic state, and the spread of Islam outside the Medina border was also orbiting around the tribe (Firhi, 1378/1999: 138- 139).

It was not only the aristocracy and the tribes of the Quraish that opposed Islam or converted to Islam via the logic of the booty. The logic of the booty and the logic of tribe had an important contribution to the development of the

Prophet's government/invitation. The booty was particularly present in the new phase of the invitation (Jaberi, ibid: 161). The position of the Prophet as a prophet and a charismatic leader was only achieved by his military and political superiority (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 57). The attacks of the messenger to caravans were all aimed at encroaching on the commercial caravans of the Quraish (ibid: 175). As long as the Prophet was in Mecca and in weakness position in relation to the Quraish, the Quranic verses of Mecca (70 verses) all recommended the patience. But when he migrated to Medina and signed the joint defense agreement against the Quraish, the verses of fighting "fight in the course of God" descended which allowed Muslims to enter the war with the Quraish (ibid: 173). Verses 1 and 41 of the Anfal Surat declares clearly that what was captured from the infidels through force, four-fifths of them were given to the fighters. It is interesting to note that the Surat of Anfal descended after the Ghazwa of Badr which describes how to distribute or divide the war booties (Jaberi, ibid: 179), as Muslims quarreled about the spoils of battle (Ibn-e Asir, Vol3: 961). The invitation of the Prophet was not only an invitation but also a government (Jaberi, ibid: 195). Indeed, the Islamic state was a Quraishi government and the instrument of the dominance of Quraish on Arabs as long as it was in Arab Peninsula but after extending to Iran and Rome, it became the Arabic/Quraishi government and the tool of Arab hegemony on non-Arabs. The internal system of the Islamic state was also based on the tribes' heritage and tribe' it preserved s life pattern in the sense of Omat (firihi, ibid: 140)

Indeed, Islam abrogated (annulled) the traditions of the Arab tribes, including theft, looting, sexual assault, and Arabic warfare, and it revived and spreaded the tribute, taxes, Zakat, bondwoman, and polygamy, and Jihad. "Islam adopted the main concepts of tribal humanity and gave them new and religious content" (Izotso in Turner, the same: 61). Sexual tendencies were an important factor in shaping Muslims' education about family and marriage (Weber, ibid: 59).

Instead of Arab tribes' invading and infringing on each other, Islam united them, and it concentrated its force, looting, and aggression towards the non-Arab tribes. "The nascent Muslim community had to press its power outwards as soon as the internal security was provided and bloodshedding was prohibited ... the efficiency of this system was dependent on an able and mobile military force" (Turner, 1379/2000: 144). As Max Weber said: The social carriers of Islam were the fighters of the Arab tribes. Islam accepted the spirit of pleasure-seeking especially in relation to women, the luxuries, and the assets (Weber in Turner, 1379/2000: 20). Islam and the Islamic Caliphate was also used as the hegemonic tools and the military tools in the service of empiricists Arab aggression and the preservation of Arab domination of others. The Government/Islamic Caliphate became the "real estate owner" and the Arab elites, who enjoyed the advantages of land and per capita taxes, were at the top of the stratification system (Turner, 1379/2000: 149), and others turned into their public slaves. In fact, the Prophet of Islam made a compromise between the commercial desire of the Quraish aristocracy and the claims of the booties and the warriors of desert tribes in light of the teachings of the text of the Quran. "The unique driving force of Islam came from the temporary fusion of skilled forces and the urban leadership with nomadic power" (Weber, ibid: 60). Therefore, the religious content of the initial period of Islam is considered as a secondary phenomenon and its main phenomenon is victory and worldly triumph (Weber, ibid: 66).

Abu Baker, the first Caliph, understood the logic of the Prophet's message and the philosophy of Islam. He had, indeed, inherited the political the talent of the Holy Prophet of Islam, which he did not separate prayer and Zakat from each other. Abu Bakr knew well that, if the bloods of the spoils -under the name of 'Zakat' is cut off, there would not remain the possibility of forming an Islamic empire to set up the prayer in it. He knew that the renunciation of Zakat means canceling the relation of sovereignty and renunciation of the land (Jaberi, ibid: 222); therefore, he announced many of the Arabs, who still had retained their

religion, as an apostate and declared war upon them through the justification of Islam and renegade from religion. In reply to the companions who asked him about the decree of war with those who believed in Islam and monotheism, he said, "I will wage war with anyone who makes a difference between prayer and Zakat, and by Allah, I will make war with them if they refused to pay a goat" (Maghdasi, 1374/1995: 988). Like the prophet, he discovered the relation of plundering (Zakat) with the ideology of Islam as the principle of Islam was the thirst for the riches of Persia and Rome (Caesar and the deficit) and the blood vessels of Islam was the economic invasion under the name of Zakat and tribute. This can explain why he went to the war with Muslims and only for the plundering under the name of Jihad in the way of Allah. Interestingly, Quraish, who converted to Islam later than others and their faith was fragile, did not come back from Islam, and did not become renegades, since the Prophet's government/invitation, ended in Quraishi's government (Jaberi: 207). In the death of the prophet, when the people of Quraish tried to return to the religion of the time of ignorance, Soheil Ibn-e Omro, one of the aristocrats of Quraish forbade them to do so and said: "Don't be the first renegades from the religion, ... Muhammad's religion will win over; I saw him in the same place that he said to me to give him a word so as to tame Arabs for you and to make Ajam pay you tribute ... I swear to God that one day would come so that you could gain the treasures of Caesar and Khosraw (Ibn-e Asir, vol3: 1198). Therefore, contrary to Ali Abdu al Razzaq, Rada (apostate) wars were not the beginning of the caliphate/Islamic state, but the continuation of it since the time of Prophet and the Zakat was the tribute/ransom that the conquering tribe would obtain from the defeated tribe (Jaberi, ibid: 206).

With the surplus of the accumulation of the other tribes coming down to the peninsula, Mecca and Medina, the Arab nation, which had firmly established its superiority became the upper class, and the defeated tribes had retreated to the

lower class. The Islamic/caliphate government also became the tool to preserve the superiority and reproduction of the dominance and the interests of the top Quraish/Arab tribe/class. Islam also served as an ideological tool for the interests of the Arab people. The opponents of the authority and the the sovereignty of the Quraish was rejected and suppressed, as the infidel and the enemies of God and the Quraish made the people come under the obedience to Arab rule and dominion in the name of Ati o Allah ... (obey the God and its messengers), Daro Salaam (the house of peace), destiny, the Arabic language is the language of God, Aemato min Quraish (the leaders are from Quraish), Ahlol Beit (the members of the family) and Quraish aristocracy appeared with the new dress of Aemat o min Quraish (leaders are from Quraish), Sahaba (the friends), Ahlol Beit (the members of the family), the over takers in Islam. Due to the communication facilities of the world in that time and the vast geographical distance, it was natural that the companions and the overtakers in religion could not be among non-Quraish and non-Arab, as the Prophet had not appeared among them. Thus, the Quraish/Arab aristocracy was restored in the form of Islam. Therefore, the principle of Islam was the dominance of the strategy and ideology of the Arabs over the non - Arabs, and the Islamic state/Caliphate was also its military means which were the surface structure or the reproducers of the production force and the interests of the Arab/Quraish tribe. The productive power of the Arab tribes was also plundering and pillage in the name of Zakat, Jizya, tribute, booty, and . . . so that as a result of looting/tribute, the Arab peoples became the upper class.

With the deterioration of the Arab prejudice and superiority at the time of Abbasids, the Islamic Empire had lost the element of social solidarity, and the new regime had to exploit religious institutions to create a new sense of political identity. Under these conditions, which the particular face of the later Islamic society, i.e. the union between the Caliphate and the ulema extended out..., the scholars prepared the legitimacy for the government and demanded that the law

be accepted as divine revelation and a fixed phenomenon (Turner, 1379: 152). It was at this time that Islamic knowledge and scholars such as Mawardi, Nizamo al Molk, Ghazali, and other Jurists preserved the hierarchical order and Arab hegemony under the name of Islam and through calling the caliphates as Zilo al Soltan (the Shadow of God), sanctifying the government and calling the opponents atheists along with the decline of Arabic prejudice. Imam-e Shafei makes it impossible to separate the meaning and interpretation of the Quran from Arab linguistics, and in particular the narrative of the Quraish, and he considers Quraish's understanding of its text as the best understanding; therefore, he knows the sovereignty of the Quraish as the necessity of the religion" (Firhi, ibid: 235). In Shafei's view, the caliphate is exclusive to Quraish; thus, a Quraishi is a legitimate Caliph who dominates through force and sword and ...; any opposition to him will be regarded as one of the referent instances of heresy (AboZaid, 1996: 62; Ahmad, 1975/1996: 327).

the religion of Islam was a means of serving the interests of the Arab people and the Quraish. After the spread of Islam and the conquest of other tribes, it employed the imperial tax code of the Sassanid monarchy. Islamic tribute was based on the Sasanian method (Frye, ibid: 387) and the jurists' attempt was to justify its historical records, to reconcile it with intellectual standards and to put them in the form of Sharia (Lampton, 1345/1966: 88). There occurred no change and progress in Iran with the advent of Islam; the capital moved from Tisiphon to Medina, and the local tax principles and indigenous social order remained in place, and the strong local men were still ruling" (Frye, ibid: 386). The administrative organization as well as the integrity of the religion and government were still among the fundamentals of Islam and as the example of the Sasanian kingdom (ibid: 388). The divine charisma of the kings - as in Tabatabai's words- were interpreted as Zilo al Soltan and the Caliphate system accepted the traditions and the customs of the Sasanian governmentality

(Petroshefroski: 72). The four social classes of the Sassanians remained as before in Islam ... only Islam took the place of Zoroastrianism (Frye, *ibid*: 387). The administration apparatus of Abbassids system was a full imitation of the Sasanian empire, and the tradition of dynasty and hierarchical system and ... continued as before (Garthwaite, 1385: 231). If the main pursuits of *Shahname* and *Khodainame*'s in the ancient Persia were around the truth and the legitimacy of the Kings, the loyalty of the serfs to the Kings and the eternal struggle between good and evil (Lazarov, Cambridge, 1379: 538), the main interests of the political jurisprudence and Islamic knowledge (*SiastNamas* and *ShariaNama*) are centered around the truth and the legitimacy of the Caliphate, the serfs' loyalty towards Caliphate system and the continued conflict between Muslims and infidels. However, it is clear that the men of goodness/justice are the masters of power and the men of evil are the oppositions of power.

Connection between Islam and modern nationalism

Defeat of the Ottoman Empire and collapse of Islamic Caliphate led to humiliation feeling, crisis and mental/intellectual vacuum among Arab nations. Self-consciousness toward self-identity and by grace of nationalism, every once in a while, one of the western ideologies were raised by Arab world to regain previous nobility and distinct position of Arabic aristocracy. These ideologies were applied under name of modernization and transition from tradition to modernity. The self-awareness of being behind the west technologically led to efforts to become free from Turks/Ottoman and colonialism rule. Arabs used nationalism. Arab nationalism intention was meant to revive Arab Greatness.

Liberalism, socialism, communism all were tried by Arab leaders and intellectuals but the core of the idea still is Arabic self-consciousness and

patriotism. Due to frequent failure of western ideologies to revive Arab Greatness and continuous crisis in the Islamic and Arabic world, mainly Israeli/Arab war, Arabic nations resorted into Islam. They resorted not for spiritual and sacred reason. Return to Islam is for revival of past greatness and as a political force to restore historical position.

As Thomas Buttco said, contemporary political Islam is used by the Arab elite as a hegemonic tool to seize power. Arabic nationalism of Rashid Reza, Sati' alHusri, Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi and Michel Aflaq ... is not a secular nationalism as standard version of nationalism does. It is pro-Islam and allied with Islam. In their view, Islam is not an outsider (occupier ideology to them) which conquered their land (As Christianity did to Romans) or how Christianity was to Germans and French, (suppressing their nationality), on the contrary, Islam was an ingredient of dominance and superiority of Arabs over others. No wonder that Baath party chauvinism was blessing land and blood from its establishment, and defend the bond between Islam and nationalism. It promoted revival of Islam as promotion of Islam is resurrection of Arab Greatness (Sayyid, 2011, 34)

If we look more closely into ISIS slogan (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), it was first promoted by Aflaq (1952) and his Baath party's manifesto. He pushed to resolve the gap between Kufa and Damascus (as political capital of Shiaa islam and Sunni Islam, Mecca is spiritual capital of Islam), and establish a Unified States of Arabs inclusive of Iraq and the Levant (Syria) with the leadership of the Baath Party (Mojan, 1391(2012): 25) Mission of Islam in its core ideology is not the salvation of all mankind, quite opposite, it became either a tool to Arab dominant overworld or a tool to unite/mobilize masses against colonialism. (Doost Mohammadi 1387(1999), p.77). The outcome of the Aflaq/Baath Party Plan was denial of non-Arab rulership and the unification of Syria and Iraq. This is what today ISIS is trying to revive by former Saddam Baath officers in

collaboration with fanatic Islamists. This is recurrence of trinity of Quraysh tribalism coupled with Prophet Call for Jihad and Baath nationalism and ISIS call.

Contemporary political thought whether in form of Muslim brotherhood or in form of Salafists/ISIS, is rooted in Arabic nervousness/social cohesion to revive the past glory and dominion over others. Even the "Muslim Brotherhood" promoted Arabism ideology in beginning to compete with Nasser's secular nationalism message. However, once Nasser movement and Suez Canal receive recognition, Muslim brotherhood dominant strategy shifted its strategy toward focus on Islamic ideology/identity to confront the Nasser hegemony over nonArab countries. "Brotherhood before 1952 crisis and rise of Nasser, portrayed itself as a savior of Arab nation and intention to restore the glory of the Arab nation" (Qader, 2000, 9). And played an important contribution towards the Palestinian cause from Arabs support in 1939 (Einayat, 1360(1981): 154). But defeat of Nasser was defeat of socialism and nationalism all together, Muslim Brotherhood transformed/changed the battle to a conflict between Islam and Judaism.(ibid: 157). Before this change, Brotherhood was in close contact with Free Officers Movement. Brotherhood educate them on religious subjects and they train Muslim Brotherhood members' military training. (ibid: 156).

Arabism is foundation of Islamism. Al-Bazzaz says: "Islam does not conflict with Arab nationalism, but their political end may vary sometimes, they are inconceivable" (al-Bazzaz, without date, 199). Also writes: "Although Islam is a universal religion but in essence is designed for Arabs. Quran is in their language and Prophet is among them (Einayat, 1362(1983): 201). After World War II, "Al-Azhar" a symbol of Islamic clergy and religious/spiritual symbol, become the cornerstone of Arab nationalism, after 1952 coup of Free Officers, they became Omar and Amr ibn al-Aas, first Islamic knights "(Einayat, 1362(1983): 210). Since 1956, Al-Azhar scholars were mainly secular such as

Bazzaz and Aflaq. They support Islam and nationalism. Al-Azhar Imam in an article titled "Is giant(Ghoul) risen," he referred ghoul to Arabs. He correlates fate of Arabs and Islam the same way Wahhabis correlate Muslim decadence with degeneration of the Arabic system of governance. He believes Arab giant (Ghoul) fall asleep when its mind was replaced with mysticism, Iranian/Greek philosophy and at the same time were dominated by Turks, Mongols and Colonialism. He sees Nasser's nationalist revolution as an Arabism (Ghoul) who is awakening and see it as Islamic renaissance (Einayat, *ibid*: 21). Khatib editor of Al-Azhar praised Arab nationalistic movement of Nasser's coup in 1952 as God blessing upon humanity. He calls Arabism and Islam's two sides of the same coin (Ahmadi, 1383(2004): 62). Thus, both old and modern Islam played as a dominant tool to revive Arab hegemony over non-Arabs.

Conclusion

The development of the theocratic Arabic/Islamic government was rooted in violence and military conflict. With the aim of leading the world towards the religion of the right and the battle with followers of the other religions, the religion of Islam aimed at conquering the world; thus, they turned into empires.

After the domination acquired with the military power and the ethnic prejudice, the government and religion and law became the control tool of domination. In fact, Arabic politics was the continuation of war and ethnic violence, and their laws, religion, culture are the internalization of the ethnic/class violence of the ruling Arabic. The foundation of the government, and the Arabic religion, culture, and rights are the production force to plunder others' capital and conquer their land, which legalized in the form of Zakat, Jizia, and tax.

Therefore, the results of this study indicate is that the government not only in the West but in the Middle East (Arab) is neither the replacement of God, nor the natural phenomenon nor the representative of the general interests, but the reproduction or the dominion instrument of the production force of the superior group owner. The group owning the production force, the ethnicity/tribe is Arab and the production force is not labor and capital, but looting and plundering (trophy (spoil), Zakat, taxes and ...) of the others who Islam gave legitimacy to them. The dominant Arab/Ghuraish tribe/ethnicity turned into the superior class and the multi-ethnic empire aristocracy and the top of the pyramid of the new government as the result of plundering the defeated tribes; hence, the defeated ethnic groups changed into the inferior tribe and they were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. They transformed the government and the tribal militia to the hierarchical government and the institutionalized military power, i.e. the empire/caliphate with the foundation cement of Islam to maintain hegemony, to continue looting and to prevent the uprising of the vanquished and defeated tribes, who became the lower class and the slave of the new system.

Therefore, the foundation of the body of Arabic civilization was the interests of the belly/hypogastric and plunder/conquest; the empire/caliphate was its executive arm and religion (Islam) was its hegemonic tool and its legitimacy ideology.

Cyrus, from Myth to Reality

Abstract

Cyrus is the king whose history has become the poetry. The narrations presented about him and his performance are not compatible with the personality of the ruler who has spent all his life engaged in the seizure of other countries. But where have the roots of these narratives originated from in which Cyrus and the entire Persians empire have been interpreted in terms of kindness and instead of plunder, and have been marked with the scientific and historical badge? Why did such aggressive person become known as a saviour people? The objective of this essay is to discuss how was the story of Cyrus human rights constructed.

Introduction

As we said, Cyrus' story has turned into poetry and myth in the history. The entire history of the formation of the Achaemenid empire has been shaped under the guise of the personality of Cyrus. The historians in describing the formation of the Achaemenid Empire do not name any Persian tribe and not even any other historical personality; even Cyrus cylinder introduces him not as the forerunner of a people, but as a person (Grigorevich, 1985, in trans by Shalgoni, 1387/2008:656). The narrative regarding Cyrus is not historical/political, but mythical and constructed; thus, there should criticize those narratives that made Cyrus prominent. Here it should be only noted that this story is rooted in the Iranian myths of Shah (king) worshipping which Herodotus, the father of the history gave a scientific/historical aspect to it. What has been recorded in the name of history science in Iran is nothing more than a retelling of Persian mythology about worshiping kings.

The reason for this in classical historiography was the source of the information of Greek historians which was not based on research and observation but the acquisition of the oral information from the dominant Persians. The Persian aristocrats, as the main information source of the Greek historians, have fed them their Shah (king) worshipping myths as the real history from the angle of their love and hatred and their enmity with the Medes and the Greek historians have sealed them as the science and the history.

In fact, the written history is only a sort of narration, and who has been the narrator has an important influence on the reinterpretation of history. The past is not in our access and there are just some historical manifestations (Selden, 1393/2014: 163). These manifestations are the product of the language structure, which they, in turn, are counted as the ideological products or the cultural constructions (Abrams, 1993: 249). No knowledge of the past is free from

interpretation (Bennet, 1995: 94). The history is always being made and it is prepared for rewriting and changing (ibid: 93), the historical texts are a reflection of power relations (Bertens, 2001, 179). In the following we're trying to discover the power relationships that created these narratives about Cyrus.

Why Cyrus became a mythical figure?

The narrative regarding Cyrus is rooted in the Iranian mythos of king worshipping which Herodotus, the father of the history and other Greek historians gave a scientific/historical aspect to it.

Herodotus and Xenophon began recording history several years after founding the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus and Darius. Philosophers such as Plato have gotten their knowledge of Iran from them. But what were the resources that Herodotus and Xenophon utilised? Where have the stories of the law-abiding of Darius and the human rights of Cyrus been derived from?

The source of Herodotus' information about the history of Iran and the Mede were the Iranians themselves like the descendants of seven anti-Iranian aristocrats or Persophiles like the descendants of Harpag (Aliev, 1388/2009: 29; Cook, Cambridge, 1387/2008: 230-240). Herodotus himself also admitted to have gotten information from the Persians: "In this case (the story of Cyrus), I follow that group of the Iranian writers whose aims have not been the glorification of Cyrus' con-quests, but they have stated the absolute truth" (Herodotus, 1387/2008: 76). "The miserable father of the historians has thought

that he has expressed a theory that had absolute truth, while he has never expressed historical facts, he has quoted the legend of Kianians and he has brought the legend into the form of the history" (Herzfeld, 1936: 46; Safa, 1384/2005: 39). He was not aware that the narration which he considered to be closer to the wisdom is the remnant of the Iranian myth which has heard from Parsian (Safa, *ibid*: 40). Therefore, the kind of character which has been presented from Cyrus and Pars is not an actual/scientific and unbiased view but it a copy of the myths and Shah-worshipping mentality of the Iranians themselves. Herodotus was mesmerized by the Persians and he confirmed their information, which the Pars' elites put in his disposal and that information was not taken from the culture of the people but it was the reflection of the ideology of the Fars elite (Munson, 2009: 457). The source of the information were the Persians themselves, and his information was gotten neither directly nor they had any foundation in historical facts and archives (Liverani, 2003:243). Also, the difference existing in the image of Cyrus goodness and Cambyses madness is derived from the narrations of Persian aristocrats themselves. "The contradiction between the personality of Cyrus and Cambyses is the reflection of the official traditional Persian narration" (Dandamayev, 1963, in trans by Roohi Arbab, 1373: 139). The news of Herodotus, which Cameron described regarding Cyrus goodness and Zaehner described about Cambyses' insanity, is also taken from the sources of Iranian news (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 227). This source of Iranian news was the same aristocracy (Dandamayev, *ibid*), which Cambyses' policies, contrary to Cyrus', were not in line with the benefits of their plunderings. After the end of the conquests and bloodsheds, Cambyses sought to limit the aristocracy's power to centralize it; therefore, the Persian nobles, who were the source of Herodotus' information, described Cambyses in contrast to Cyrus, who dispatched the flood of plunders (bootys) of conquered lands into the aristocracy hands, as crazy and violent.

"Cyrus aimed at further conquests that strengthened tribal aristocracy and expanded its sphere of influence ... Cambyses sought to eliminate the powers of the traditional aristocracy Herodotus reference to the strictness of Cambyses reflects the dissatisfaction of Persian aristocrats with him. Herodotus received his information from Zupirus, who is the symbol of the Persian aristocracy, an aristocracy that had found Cambyses' actions to organize a strong central government to the detriment of their own tribal relations and they called these actions as crimes" (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 141).

The Cyrus letter (Kourosh Name) of Xenophon, which has raised Cyrus up as a top-notch excellent model, based on the unanimous view of the historians, is not a history but a storytelling book (Wiese豪fer, 2001, in trans by Saqibfar, 1377/1998: 71; Diakonoff, 1985, in trans by Keshavarz, 1379/2000: 49; Aliev, 1960, in trans by Mirbaha, 1388/2009: 34; Shahbazi, 1349/1970: 100). This is not a historical but an educational book. Xenophon, a student of anti-democratic Socrates, was trying to present an anti-democracy modal for Greece. In this regard, notice this sentence in which he compares the people of Persia to a submissive cattle in front of the Shah and Cyrus as the Shepherd: "I saw that the ruling over man was harder than being the shepherd of animals, the animals are not rebellious and ..., and they have complete obedience of the shepherds ... but humans are rebellious against their ruler ... then I realized that it is more difficult for man to rule over his own species than other animals ... but when I saw Cyrus ..., I acknowledged that it is not difficult to rule over human type" (Xenophon, n.d., in trans by Karimi, 1350/1971: 3).

As with Plato, Xenophon tries to provide a hierarchical model against democracy, a democracy that was not compatible with their family aristocracy and he could not digest it because of Socrates execution. This is why he introduced the Iranian system and the Cyrus character as a despotic/royal pattern against Greek democracy and he presented a subtle and popular character of Cyrus for making

his acceptance easier; thus, he concealed the roots of his violence and the manner in which he came to power; in contrast, he considered Cyrus as the groom of Astiag and the Median soil as Asitag troussseau to Cyrus. As we can see, Xenophon presents a model of the lordly system in front of the Greek system of democracy: "Cyrus has always been accustomed to saying that a good king is no different from a shepherd. As the shepherds care for the herds in order to take advantage of them, the king also observes obedience from his subordinates to provide them with their bliss" (Xenophon, *ibid*: 258). Therefore, the Iranian system has been the system of lords/serfs or god/servitude during the time of Cyrus. It is not just the nobility/Spartan view of Xenophon that has modeled on Cyrus and the system of Achaemenid shepherds/herds as he considered the greatest Iranian art as being obedient and subordinate to the Shah (FarshadMehr, 1385/2006: 45), Herodotus also made an entirely difference between Iranians and Greeks through the Iranians' pure submission, and the slavery-like obedience to greed and tyranny (Rawlinson's introduction to Herodotus, 1987, in tran by Mazandarani, 1384/2005: 17).

Indeed, the entire opposes of democracy in Greece were enthralled by Cyrus (Cook, 1983, in trans by Saqibfar, 1389/2010: 29). The Homerian sense involved proud and glory (it considered the war, massacre and aristocracy as the pride of honor); this formed the Greeks feeling especially Xenophon's towards Persians (Cook, *ibid*: 346), as Cyrus and the Achaemenid political systems were the ideal models of the oligarchic tyranny and anti-democracy. The political freedom and politics of Greek democracy describe the Greeks as saying: "People gather in their fields to swear allegiance to deceive each other" (Herodotus, cited in Zarinkob, 1368/1989: 120). This demonstrates the difference between the horizons of Cyrus' thoughts with democracy and human rights. Therefore, the anti-democratic aristocrats, like Xenophon, who was from the disciples of Socrates, and Socrates, who was one of the greatest enemies of democracy, loved Cyrus enthusiastically.

One of the other sources that introduced Cyrus as the hero, the moral, and the human rights symbol is Cyrus' own cylinder which, according to Manual Cook, is not human rights but the flattery of the gods (Cook, *ibid*: 43). It is written in Cyrus own words in the same cylinder: "I made the land of Guthium and Mandha (both of them are the same Medes) and ... submissive and forced them to pay tribute and kiss my legs" (Cyrus Cylinder, cited in Cook, *ibid*: 67). This kind of failure and bringing tribute and also kissing the royal foot is not equal to the human rights and democracy, but it is the relationship between Lord and serf. In the meantime, the Cylinder is the narration of Cyrus himself and it is natural that he represents himself as good and his enemies as evil.

The reason why the Babylonian and Jewish priests have described him as savior, as some historians have pointed out -we will continue to discuss it- was the result of the propaganda of Cyrus preachers. The voice of the priests is not the voice of the common people. It does not make any difference for the priests who the king was as far as their pockets were filled with money and they were given freedom to carry out their own ceremonies. As for the peasants (aristocrats) and Iranian clerics, it did not make any difference whether Shah (king) was Yazdgerd or Anoshirvan, the Mongolian Aljaito (Khaja Nasir al Din Tusi) or the Sultan of Seljuk (Ghazali and Nizam al Molk) or Shah Isma'il Safavi. The same Babylonian priests, who made Cyrus the guardian and they legitimized him, also did the same for Alexander the Macedonians "this issue that Babylonian priests accepted the role of Cyrus as the beloved of Mardok is not surprising, according to their belief, the victory of Cyrus was the providence of God ... similar name was given to the king of Seloki, Antochus I, as the agent of the gods of Ezila and Ozyda, the temples and the gods of Babylonia" (Boyce, 1982, in trans by San'atizade, 1381/2002: 97). The popularity among people was not important for the kings like Cyrus to seek refuge in people rather than the priests. The priests offered metaphysical legitimacy to Cyrus using religion and

temples in return of receiving salaries and certain concession, as Iranian clerics gave them to Mongols, Seljukites, Turks and Arabs.

Cyrus has no particular difference with TamourLane, Nader Shah, Shah Isma'il, and Since the day he sat on the throne to the end of his life, he was engaged in battle and capture of the other lands. The difference between Cyrus and Nader and Shah Abbas is that during the Safavids period, there were historians other than the court historians who wrote the facts beyond the writing of the kings. But at the time of Cyrus, historical realities have survived based on their own language and their inscriptions, which is definitely the arbitrariness and good demonstration of oneself knowing the others as evil. No Safavid historians has refered to the killing afnd massacre at the hands of Shah Isma'il from the Safavids but Italian Orientalists has narrated them (Taheri, 1380/2001: 182). But during the Cyrus rein, there were neither Orientalists like Shardin nor today's satellite communications to wrote out the facts out of the kings own interpretation. Thus, Cyrus becomes a symbol of human rights, and the Safavids as the symbol of degeneration and degradation. While there was neither any difference between the real personality of Cyrus with Shah Isma'il and Shah Abbas, nor between their state system. The true personality of Cyrus in a notshell can be heard from the words of Tomiress, the Scythians Queen who called Cyrus a inthirsting vampire and said: "Oh the thirsty of blood, I will quinch your thirst with blood" (Cook, cited in Gerchevitch, ibid: 251). The reason behind the Cyrus character becoming kind is exiting his character out of the history and its mythification. The myth refines reality and makes it innocent (Barthes, 1915, in trans by Daghigian, 1375/1996: 72).

The Cyrus epic is mixed with the religious myths of Indo-Europeans (Frye, 1974, in trans by Anoshe, 1379/2000: 136) and this ideal Cyrus is the same legendary Kaykhosrow and Fereydon and the myths of Kaykhosrow and Fereydon was molded on Cyrus and Greek historians have sealed it with the stamp of history. In order to clarify the subject, it is useful to give other examples

of how Cyrus like Taimour and Nader have turned from a rapist and occupier personality into a legendary figure and the symbol of human rights.

In Sassanian mythology, the Sassanid kings' harsh attitudes towards people have been interpreted as mild and ... treatments as based on the Romans and Greeks writings. For example, Shapur I take Bezanosh, the Roma commander, everywhere ... or Maleka, the daughter of the Tayer Shah of Yemen -in the castle of Al-Haazr- marries Shapur II and hands in the castle through patriotism (Pirnia, 1383/2004: 71). But according to the historical information available and as the historians of Rome and Greece have simultaneously pointed out: Shapur I killed Bezanosh with violence and captured Al-Hazer castle in a great conflict and he marries the queen through force. While Cyrus captures Media after three years of war and he handed on Amothis by killing his husband forcibly, the Medes themselves surrendered to Cyrus in the mythology and even the story of Xenophon and Herodotus, and Astiag -in Xenophon narration- gave his daughter to Cyrus and donated the whole land of Mede to Cyrus as his daughter's dowry. What was the difference between Shapur and ... Sassanids, Safavids, and Mongolians with Cyrus that all of them were known as the brutal bloodthirsties and Cyrus as the the marker of human rights? The difference is that there was no historical awareness in the Achaemenids and Cyrus era. History -As Klima says- was the inscriptions of the kings and their orders and no body had the right to question the narration of kings about historical facts. The earliest Greek historians also wrote history at least 100 years after Cyrus.

When the history was mixed with the mythology and the narration of Iranian legendary were mistakenly written in the name of history. The killing by the Safavid kings was also revealed by orientalists. If they did not exist and we would look at history from the point of view of the Safavid state documents, then Shah Isma'il 1 and Shah Abbas's personality would definitely be a better symbol of human rights. Therefore, the mystery of the moralization of Cyrus personality

is that there was no historical consciousness to reveal his oppression and massacres, and this fact that Iranian mythology was written by Maguses/Aristocrats and not the general public has made Cyrus a holy, great and moral personality. But then some people may ask where were the books of the Jewish religion and the Babylonian calendar that have introduced Cyrus as a guardian originated?

The answer to this question can be twofold: one is that calling the foreign factor as the savior and welcoming it by the priests of each nation has not just been limited to Cyrus. The Egyptians and the priests also saw Alexander as a heavenly guardian who saved them from the yoke of the Persians, and called Alexander the Divine Pharaoh. The same priests of Babylon who made Cyrus as the savior also did the same with Alexander (Zarinkob, 1368/1989: 208-210).

“Cyrus entering Babylon did not mean its people’s unconditional agreement with him, but it is similar to the arrival of Alexander to Babylon to show their loyalty to the conqueror that is the fate of the conquered city” (Briant, 2002, in trans by Feraghan, 1387/2008: 66). The same Iranian Magus went on singing to welcome Alexander while entering Babylon (Widengren, 1968, in trans by Farhang, 1377/1998: 266). How about the Iranian clerics giving holiness to Mongols (by Khaje Nasir Tusi) and Seljuks (by Ghazali, and Nizam al-Molk)? Secondly, the Nabonid calendar that praises Cyrus, is Cyrus' own propaganda as Olmested has proved it with document (Olmested, cited in Shahbazi, *ibid*: 5). "Pierre Briant" realized this issue and wrote: "Cyrus was constructed as a sacred personality based on the texts of Waghray Name, Cyrus cylinder, Torah and the Greek sources of Cyrus and the Greek sources and as a savior authority who conquered each state with the consent of the people of that country is quite suspicious, because it corresponded with the propaganda of Persians regarding Cyrus" (Briant, 2002, in trans by Feraghan, 1387/2008: 62). "The writings of Isaiah are in agreement with the spirit of the Babylonian doctrine in praise of

Cyrus. The style of writing texts that have praised Cyrus is directional (biased) as the time of their compiling by the Babylonian priests was only after the fall of Babylon at the hands of the Persians. The content of the texts was in harmony with the new King's orders ... like the inscriptions of the Assyrians a century ago" (Dandamayev, 1963, in trans by Roohi Arbab, 1383/2004: 83). Nabonid's calendar is similar to Cyrus' cylinder in style and content. Cyrus had already contacted the Babylonian priests who were crazy with Nabonids (Cook, 1983, in trans by Saqibfar, 1389/2010: 66) and he had purchased them with his vacant promises. Nabonid had tendency to worship god of Sin in front of Mordec, the respectful god of the priests which led to a reduction in the validity of the Marduk temples, thereby reducing the temple's economic benefits for the priests. Like the Qoreyshans' opposition to the Prophet Mohammad, not because of religion, but because of the economic benefits coming from the Ka'ba idols (AlJaberi, 1984/2005, in trans by Al-e Mehdi, 1389/2010: 159). Cyrus made the priests content with the promise of nationalizing God of Mardok, and the revival of financial aid to the temple. Therefore, the peaceful arrival of Cyrus to Babylon was the later construction of the priests and Cyrus himself, not the historical fact. Both Xenophon and Herodotus pointed out that the Cyrus armies killed everybody either on the street or at the royal palace (Dandamayev, ibid: 77; Champdor, ibid: 292). The Cyrus burned the Akkad people in the fire and massacred them (Cook, ibid: 64; Olmested: 1948, in trans by Moghadam, 1384/2005: 68-69). In the words of Will Durant, Cyrus has had an atrocious cruelty (Durant, 1885, in trans by Aram, 1378/1999: 290).

If Cyrus was the Savior of Babylon, they would not rebel in the time of the central power vacuum, nor would give the names of those who Cyrus killed to the insurgent leaders. "The naming of the two usurpers (during the riots of Darius) under the title of the last honorable King of Kaldani, NebuchadNaser indicates political or even national reaction against the ruling of Pars" (Gershevitch, ibid: 671). This is the sign of the popularity of the leaders killed

by Cyrus and the Cyrus monophytes. In the same way, according to the inscription of Bistoun, Ferawartish and Chisertokhme related themselves to the previous kings of Mede like Howakhshatera to question the legitimacy of the destructor of the Mede Empire, i.e. Cyrus.

Whether Cyrus had not burned and plundered the temples built by Nabonid in the commemoration of godess of Sin during the conquest of Babylon with the complicity of the followers of Mardok, and forced supranational goddess with his universal claim to bend on his knees in front of national goddess (Karbasian, 1384/2005: 56). Therefore, Cyrus' religious policy was not derived from his religious free manners, but from his goal of having hegemony and domination over the captured lands (Nyberg, 1954: 67). Berossos, Babylonian historian, pointed out that when Cyrus captured Babylon, he commanded to destroy the walls outside the city, because the city was stubbornly resisting in front of him and it was difficult to capture the city (Berossos in Dandamayev, *ibid*: 77). Why was Cyrus welcomed to Babylon as a savior among the people's rain flowers? "Cyrus knew well what would happen when people led by Gobarro entered the wealthy city of Babylon and how they would slaughter innocents; thus, he kept himself and Pars army away from Babylon until it could enter the city as a freighter and a savior" (Gershevitch, *ibid*: 650). Gobaro had already killed many of the Babylonian opponents and elders, including Baltasarou ... (Champdor, *ibid*: 279-281) and he had established order and security in Babylon. No days passed by after Cyrus entered Babylon in which his hands would not have been infected with slaughter and even he would not have shown off as being against the killing by his armies in Babylon. Xenophon pointed to a very interesting thing about Cyrus in the Cyrus News letter: "Cyrus would appear in the chariot among the people when he was sacrificing to the gods; everyone whould respect him and bow, and maybe special people were appointed to set as modal for the others in this regard ..." (Xenophon, *ibid*: 264) which also applies to the fabricated welcoming ceremony of Cyrus in Babylon, meaning that Cyrus

had previously sent Gobarro to set order, which would certainly not have been done without killing and suppressing his opponents. After the massacre in the palace, Cyrus sent his warriors through the streets of the city and ordered to kill everybody they would see, ... he issued a decree indicating the delivery of the weapon If someone has a gun, he and his family must be killed" (Xenophon, cited in Champdor, *ibid*: 293) and after the establishment of order, he has appointed special persons to respect him and bow and rain flowers over him, and this flower scattering was carried out by Cyrus's trained comrades as it is the case with today's Basijs, which later propaganda of Cyrus priests related it to the whole Babylon's people.

Mary Boyce has given a full explanation regarding the Jewish Prophets, i.e. Isaiah introduces him (Cyrus) as the Christ of God. According to Boyce, "Isaiah" was relatively an unknown man at that time, or at least had nothing to express against the reputation of Jeremiah that he introduced Cyrus as Christ and ... gave the promise of the freedom of the Jewish people as the result of the promises of giving the leadership of the Jewish people to him (Boyce, 1979, in trans by Bahrami, 1381: 71). To prove the correctness of Boyce's words, the structural difference between Isaiah words and other Jewish prophets is a good reason. Before Isaiah, "firstly, the word of Christ was utilized for no non-Jewish person that is the sign of the skill propagandists (Boyce, *ibid*: 73). Jeremiah talks about the sins of the Jewish people and of the mighty and hard-taking God (Yahweh) while in Isaiah, instead of the sins of the Jews, he speaks of their freedom and liberation, and instead of the righteous and rebellious Lord, he speaks about a kind father (Champdor, *ibid*: 337-338). Isaiah talked about innovative points concerning Christian theology that scholars inevitably have to compare it with the Goths (Boyce, *ibid*: 73). C. S. Turie believes that all references to the book of Isaiah to Cyrus and Babylon are the later fabrications. Smith believes that Isaiah was later called as a traitor to the tradition (Sunnah) as the result of calling Cyrus as Christ (Danmadeyev, *ibid*: 93).

In spirit and content, there are many similarities between Isaiah's book and Cyrus's cylinder (ibid). Cyrus's agent talked to the Jewish prophecy regarding the greatness of Ahuramazda with the mediator of Cyrus, and Isaiah has accepted this image and has given it to Yahwa (Lord) (ibid: 76). A Magus who was familiar with the Goths must have been Zoroastrians. Cyrus promised to spread the Zoroastrian religion after the failure of Astyagh (Boyce, ibid). Yahwa was just the God of the Jewish people before Isaiah, not the God of heaven and earth ... before Isaiah there was no news of salvation and of Christ and But there was more emphasis on the sins of the people. "The words of the Isaiah the Prophet was surprising for the followers that a non-Jewish man be the Messiah of God" (Hinz: 103). The Jewish Isaiah borrowed the concepts of paradise and earth, Satan (devil) and the other world ... from the Zarathustra religion (Bahar, cited in Esmailipur, 1377/1998: 421). Before introducing by the prophets of Cyrus, there was no meaning in the name of the devil in the Jewish religion. There was no news of Satan in Torah.

It was the serpent that deceived Eve (Torah, cited in Sophocles. (429B.C, in trans by Maskob, 1385/2006, in the introduction). Therefore, according to Vincent's theory, the verses of Isaia the prophet were written at the time of Darius in Jerusalem during the rebuilding of the temples (Vincent, cited in Boyce, ibid: 280) or Zoroastrian propagandists as according to the resemblance of Isaiah's verses with the Goths and Yasna were definitely Zoroastrians and they have moduled them with their own promises. Nehemiah and Izra, who have spoken about Cyrus and his Jewish beloved, were the cupholders of Ardeshir before becoming the governor of Jeruslim. Ezra, Nichma and Haji are the Jewish Prophets who came to the rank of glory at the court of Ardeshir (FarshadMehr, 1385/2006: 231). The Biblical book of Ozra, which calls Cyrus as Christ, was found in Ekbatan's archives during the time of Darius I, which Volhausen and Cöcströs have doubted it because of the type of Jewish-oriented phrasalization

(Yamauchi, 1937, in trans by Pezeshk, 1390/2011: 85). The Book of Izra spoke about the help of the royal treasury to the Jews, but Haji and Zakaria's book has not said anything about the royal monetery sponsorship which casts doubts regarding the correctness of the promises mentioned in these verses of Izra (ibid: 86). These prophets, the cupholders of Achaemenids kings, rebuilt their temples with the Achaemenid's money and they took the Jews to Babylon and made them seem prisoners of the Babylonians in order to convert Cyrus into Christianity. But if they had really been slains, then why only a few of them returned to Jerusalem after allowing from behalf of Cyrus. Hinz and some other philo-Iranian scholars believe that the economic progress in Babylon is the cause behind their not returning to Babylon. But they do not explain where in the world, the slave has been allowed to progress economically and to inflict market? Thus, the Jews were not at all slaves. They were completely free in Babylonia in reading their own poems and in doing economic affairs (Champdor, ibid: 270). Indeed, at that time, Egypt ruled Jerusalem, and Jeremia dissatisfied with this demanded Bokht al Nasr to invade Jeruslim and liberate the Jews from the domination of the infidel Egyptians (Shahbazi, interview). The story of the Jews being slaves and their liberation by Cyrus is a legend of Cyrus and his propagandists. Cyrus is neither savior nor Christ the guardian, but one of the cleverest kings of he history.

The reason of his intelegence was that he wrote his own interpretation of historical events and molded it on history. Thus, after many centuries, "today's improvisers, like ancient historians, see him as the symbol of human rights" (Briant, ibid). However, finding about Cyrus's wickedness does not require the argumentation of history, since he was continually fighting and raping others from the day he became king until his death and this the best reason for his tyranny and domineering personality and that conquering other countries is not possible anywhere in the world without blood and slaughter.

The favorable views of Cyrus and Camboyses towards religions had two causes: one was the necessities of time -for instance, the use of the Jews to attack Egypt- and the other was the primacy of their religion, which could not compete with the religions of the east (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 331). Grishman has well noted this point and he has pointed out that if the Roman Empire tried to attract the culture and economy of dominating nations, it would result in their advancement given the more advanced basis of the general culture of Rome in relation to the defeated nations since the underlying domination of Rome was semi-savage, but the state of affairs differed considerably from Rome in the period of Darius and Cyrus. If the Achaemenids who compared the civilized nations such as Egypt, Babylon, the Greek islands and Media with their own civilization, this would count as a descending affair as they were aware of the cultural superiority of the old civilizations (Grishman, 1976, in trans by Mo'in, 1388/2009: 135-136). Thus, their intelligent policies in the non-imposition of Persian culture and language was not due to their liberating behaviour, but unlike Rome, it was due to this fact that it was the conquering nation who was semi-wild and borrowed the culture, and even their language from the defeated nations. In fact, like the Mongols, they had nothing to impose and mold on the others, "Mongols' toleration with the religious beliefs of the different nations in their empires is well-known at least as long as they converted to Islam, and even afterwards" (Sattari, 1383/2004: 101).

Many people emphasize on this point that Cyrus, unlike the Caliphs of the Islamic period, did not impose his religion upon the people under his rule, but this conception was the result of their inadequate understanding of the history of religions. Concepts such as dogmatism and religious prejudice only emerged after the advent of Christianity and had little position in the old religions" (Dandamayev, 1381/2002: 139). The term "thousand gods" by Hittite writers showed the mixing of various gods and their acceptance among hostile nations ... and that the dominant nation also accepted the gods of the defeated people ...

that later it became a part of the Achaemenid policies" (Razi, 1382/2003: 84). "Neither Cyrus nor Cambyses knew anything as tolerance and religious freedom. There was absolutely no such a thing throughout the whole empire" (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 87). Cyrus' style was similar to that of the Hittites and the Assyrians. Hermana noted the similarity between the writing style of the Cyrus cylinder with the inscription of Assur Bonai Pal (Dandamayev, *ibid*: 82). According to Walker, Cyrus' cylinder was a model for constructing buildings in Assyria and Babylon, not for the human right statement (Walker, 1972: 159). The crushed pieces of Cyrus cylinder in "Nis" museum was reconstructed by "Berger". In this text, Cyrus explicitly describes Ashur-e Beni Pal, the great king of Assyria, as his political model (Anzeig von CB Walker, Iran-1971). Cyrus tried to connect himself with the successful previous rulers of Mesopotamia after discovering an inscription from Ašhur-e Beni Pal I (Kuhrt, 2007: 51).

The negation of the Median being of Cyrus

Writings all over the world have considered Cyrus as Mandana's son, Astiag's daughter, which is impossible (Hinz, 1978/2008, in trans by Rajabi, 1386/2007: 92). Cyrus was born several years before Astiag sat on the throne in 590 BC (Shahbazi, 1350/1971; 103). When Astiag replaced the previous king in 584, Cyrus was 17 years old at that time. According to Dinon, Justin and Daniel the Prophet, when he conquered Babylon, he was 62 years old. (Hinz, *ibid*: 93). If we lesson 62 years from the anniversary of the conquest of Babylon in 529 BC, it will become about 590-591 BC when it is just a few years before the Astyag sat on the throne. Nevertheless, the narrations considers Astiag as the king of Mede who has a virgin daughter. Since Astiag's daughter sees a bad dream signifying losing the kingdom, he gives his daughter to Cambyses, the father of

Cyrus. According to these narratives, Cyrus must have been born at the time of the Astiag when the narrations do not approve it as he was born in 591 before the Astiag becoming king. "Thus, the story of the princess Mandana and her giving birth to Cyrus ... is a myth ... Cyrus' mother was not a Median ... this narration has a political root for reconciling the Medes with the Persians" (Hinz, *ibid*: 93). In order to justify Cyrus' rebellion against the Medes and to give the legitimacy to their domination on the Medians, Cyrus, who was alien to the Medes, became the nephew of the Medes in the legends (Freud, 1348/1969: 7). These "myths probably came to Herodotus from the Harpag's family, because Harpag was a wise and innocent man in this myth and Ishtiago was a selfish and tyrannical ruler" (Nöldeke, n. d, cited in Shahbazi, *ibid*: 64).

The fact of the story, as Ctesias has pointed out, is that Astiag had a girl named Amotis -Mandana-, who married "Spitamas". After the capture of Mede by Cyrus, Cyrus killed Spitamas and he married his wife, who, according to the legendary narration was Cyrus' mother (Ctesias, cited in Briant, *ibid*: 80). Since in the kingdom of Mede, in the absence of a son, the throne was brought to the groom, Cyrus claimed the reign of the Mede by killing Spitamas, Astiag's bridegroom, and he handed on his wife. It is likely that Bardia, who revived the Median rebellion against the Persians, would have been the same as the Amotis. We will return to this subject in the next chapter, here we only point out that after the Bardia's death, whom Ctesias calls "Tanyokharks", Amonits got aware of this incident and cursed Cambyses and committed suicide by poisoning (Photius, n. d., in trans by Khalili, 1379/2000: 48). Therefore, the possibility of the correctness of the story of Ctesias is much greater than that of Herodotus and Xenophon. As Cyrus did not marry Astiag's daughter with consent and consolation but via the killing her spouse and through force, he captured the Medes through violence and not with consent from the part of the Medes. Killing Spitamas, the man of the house and putting his hands on his wife, Amotis is the

symbol of killing the head of the Medes house, Astiag, and conquering her family, i.e. Medes' land.

Conclusion

Thus, the only source of the Greek historians was the oral information taken from the rulers to be in authority. Besides, the only narrators of the historical events such as the conquest of the Mede and the defeat of Gaumata has been written down from the viewpoints of the king worshiping mentality of the conquerors in the history which nobody could criticize. Moreover, the ruling power has circulated its narration as the truth and it did not permit any other narrations of the events to be established. Consequently, these official narrations of the rulers and conquerors of the wars considered themselves as good and recorded their interpretation of the incidents in the history as legendary; hence, they assumed the defeated nations as the symbol of the evil, the demon, and Why is the border between the myth and history clear in the so-called history of Iran? The change of the historical people into legend and poetry is the result of the lack of the historical knowledge and methods. But why has not there existed anything under the name of the science of history in ancient Iran. Why was not historiography there in ancient Iran?

Because the King alone ordered and negated the whole inhabitants of the country like their father, he carried all the actions and all the other people were like his serfs, he himself got the thing to be composed and decided what to write and record for the future (Klima, 1371/1992: 47). For instance, Darrius introduced his writing regarding the events related to Gaumatas' uprising as the absolute facts that no one should question their truthfulness. Darrius the king says: "when you see the pictures in the inscriptions that I wrote, do not destroy them and if possible, preserve them" (DB, 4: 67- 69). "If you see the pictures and the inscriptions, and if you do not destroy them and if possible you do not destroy

them, Ahur mazd will be your companion ... and he will bless the end of your work ... if you see the pictures and the inscriptions, and if you do not destroy them and if possible you preserve them, Ahur mazd will hurt you and he will ruin your dynasty" (DB, 4: 72- 80). Thus, what the Greek historians narrated under the title of the historical facts was the reflection of the Persian ruling ideology to consolidate their dominance and to acquire the legitimacy of occupation/confiscation of the Mede in the dominance of truth. For this reason, Cyrus became a mythical kingdom that symbolizes human rights.

The beginning of the History

The emergence of history (religions, philosophy and empire) action or reaction, evolution or rupture?

Abstract

Philosophers such as Hegel and Jaspers, with different concepts, consider the millennium BC as the beginning of the era of real history or axial period of history. In their view, the true history of humanity begins in this period and everything before that belongs to prehistoric times. For this reason, this period is introduced as a transition from Pre-civilization to civilization, nature to culture (Philosophy and religions), and it is called evolution and progression. However, they have no answer to what caused this transformation or evolution. What is the thoughtless domain of thoughtful history? Was history action or reaction? If it was a reaction, what was the reaction against? The purpose of this article is to critique this theory and to show that the millennium BC was not only an evolution and progression but also a rupture and retreat and also history was not action but reaction. History refers to the emergence of the soul in the form of religion and philosophy, both of which, on one hand, were reactions due to hatred or ignorance, on the other hand, were because of political competition. It means, philosophy in Plato was the ideology of class domination that he called

democracy as the government of the ignorant as well as religion in Zoroastrianism was the ideology of ethnic domination.

Introduction

Jaspers speaks about the “axial period” of history which the man is still living within its framework. A period that developed with Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Hindu Buddhism, Greek, and the periods of Jewish prophets like Isaiah and Jeremiah. According to Jaspers, the axial period is the most prolific period of history, the period between the years 800-200 BC that whatsoever happened before it was an introduction to it, and whatsoever has happened after it traces back to it and during which the kind of humanity emerged that we live with it till now. At that time, the worldly religions that we today live based on them were founded. This universal transformation of man can be called the evolution towards spirituality. The real human being hidden in the prison of the body and entangled in the guise of instincts and desires wishes salvation that he can achieve in this world through either ascending towards thought, or in silence (spiritual tranquility) or while experiencing Nirvana or surrendering to the will of God. Disagreements are very large in terms of thoughts and the content of the beliefs, but the common point is that there is a person who steps beyond ..., in the axial period something emerged which was later called under the name of reason and personality In this era, people of the world are seeing the pestilence of decadence, and through insight, education, and transformation of the situation, they are struggling to come up with a plan to master the flow of affairs. The end of this first period was political, with strong governments

dominating their neighbours and becoming greater and more widespread like the government of Tsin Shi Huang Ti in China, Maurya in India, Hellenistic and Roman states in the western world (Achaemenids in Iran, Qaderi) in which the order was established in accordance with a technical and organizational plan Then every ethnic group that did not take advantage of the periodic movements remains in the form of "natural people" as they have been in thousands years before (Jaspers 1953, 15).

few important points are hidden in this brief but fruitful words of Jaspers. The first is that he considers the pivotal period as the transition from prison of the body and instincts as the evolution towards spirituality. Second, he considers thought transformation towards spirituality as the significant factor in the formation of the great empires, and the third is that every single nation staying away from the periodic axis movements remains as a natural and history less ethnic group.

The emergence of history was also the emergence of dual confrontations and the division of good and evil that the pioneering of history such as Zarathustra and Plato called themselves good and the other as evil, the devil and the cave of ignorance. The other of history which cannot exist without it and at the same time it destroys it. Thoughtless domain cannot stand the symbolic order of history. thoughtless not exist but all of the cultural history has been formed on the bases on the negation and making it as "the other such as satan, evil, Ahriman, instinct, Pagan, Ignorance, darkness, Dragon, badness and irrational. in contrast to that, they defined themselves as God, light, goodness, and rational. The emergence of conceptual dual opposites such as earth-sky, logos-Eros, and light and darkness reflected the emergence of ethnic and class antagonisms that philosophy became the ideology of class domination and religion became the ideology of ethnic domination. In fact, the rise of metaphysics was the result of the rise of ethnic and class domination. We must combine Marx's view who

define class antagonism as the driving force of history and Heidegger's view that metaphysics was the driving force of history. Because the emergence of metaphysics and God was coinciding and associating to the emergence of ethnic and class domination. This does not mean that there was no ethnic and class conflict before, but it only means that ethnic and class domination does not have a factual and conceptual aspect. In other world, domination of ethnic and class did not permanent in governance of truth. The emergence of metaphysics in the form of religion/revelation and philosophy/dialectic was in reaction to what?

Hegel says this about philosophy, "the owl of Manirava flies at the sunset," that is, whenever there happens a crisis, philosophy will emerge to resolve the crisis. This is true of religion as well. The question is what for crises caused the emergency of history. To answer these questions, we should reach the zero point of the history in which the other were badged as Ahriman, Evil and Violent, and Pioneers of history as goodness and wisdom of. The zero Point in which the boundary between wisdom and debauchery, Ahura (God) and Ahriman (Devil), goodness and evil, Logos and Eros, and others, have been constructed and so separated from each other that they have interrupted the path of any exchange. It was the time when the violent crackdown of the other through their devious repulse actualized and became permanent in the governance of truth. In this article we focus in Plato, Zoroaster and Cyrus, each representing philosophy, religion, and empire, respectively. Three components that Jaspers mentions as the axial period of history.

Philosophy the emergence of Plato/Philosophy.

Heidegger« and »Arendt« argued that cave illustration is the onset of western philosophy. Plato has described his theory of knowledge by the well-known

illustration of the Cave Theory (The theory of the Ideas or Forms), that the ascension of the mind from the dark point of the cave to the entrance of the cave, where it is the radiation spot of the sunlight, is the sign of the development of epistemology. "The prisoners of the cave, who are in the darkest corner of the cave, far away from the sunlight, which are representative of the majority of human beings in Plato's view, see only the shadows of the reality, not the reality itself. Their views on the world are very imperfect, and owing to their own and the others passions and prejudices, they are distorted and gone astray. If they are forced to see the truth, they are blinded by the too much brightness of the light. They consider the shadows on the wall of the cave as more real than the facts. Plato knows the image of the shadows on the wall of the cave as the world of bigotry, the passions and sophistry and the transition from the darkness of the cave towards the brightness of the fire and light as the world of intelligibilities and the truth, and the flaring world of the sun-light as the representatives of sensible facts" (Copleston, vol1, 88: 190-191).

Plato, also in the book of 'Republic', in which he defines the non-good man, he describes it as similar to the head of the lion or the dragon around it. He regards the evil as responsible for the growth of dragon-like character giant and the head of the lion in man (Plato, the Republic: 590). In fact, two "nons" in the philosophical apparatus of Plato, the darkness of the cave and the lion-headed man and the dragon. Plato sees the cave as a symbol of ignorance, passions, and the asses of the illiterate people and he regards the lion-headed and the dragon creature as a symbol of human neglect and the ignorant and licentious man who is far away from prosperity.

Plato also presents the philosopher-king theory as opposed to the theory of social contract.

Are these symbols the logical conclusion of Plato 's personal creativity, or do they have their roots in a particular culture and creed?

Certainly, these concepts or anti-concept such as dark cave of ignorance are not constructed by Plato's mind, but refer to a particular culture, which existed in the time of Plato and before him that made Plato react. We know about social contract. It was the idea of the Sophists that in contrast, Plato theorized the philosopher king but what we know about cave of ignorance and Lion man head?

Where did the lion man-head and the dark cave of ignorance, the other in Plato's philosophy, come from and refer to which culture?

Plato was acquainted with dark cave through the Pythagoras' description of Mithras. In the following we describe Mithras that mean contract and its ritual was bullfighting in dark caves far from sunlight. Here we just mention in her travelogue, Pythagoras describes Mithraic bullfighting in dark caves. Mithras's performed their rituals, dances and festivities inside the darkness of the cave, far from the sunlight, and the Mithraism symbols that were discovered around the world have shown "Mithra" as the lion-headed man with a dragon around it. On the other hand, the two main symbols of Mithraism, i.e. the darkness of the cave and being far away from the sunlight, and sanctifying the ani-mals such as snakes, Scorpion, ravens, and lions, which are the symbol of evil in all metaphysical cultures, and killing them has religious rewards. The two main symbols of Mithraism are precisely the two "nons" and contrasts of Plato's philosophy.

Plato sees the cave as a symbol of ignorance, passions, and the asses of the illiterate people and he regards the lion-headed and the dragon creature as a symbol of human neglect and the ignorant and licentious man who is far away from prosperity. The Cave, the snake, and the Lion of Mithra becomes the symbols of Demon. Plato sees the balance between good and evil as the basis of his definition of the good human/citizen. He knew the transition over this balance, commitment of evil and sin as the cause of the growth of the dragon-tempered monster, and the dragon-tempered lion as a symbol of evil and sin in us (The Republic of Plato, 590, cited in Hansman, Closka, ibid: 259). He

considers the snake and lion as the symbol of the evil part of the human soul and the satanic temptations. As we have mentioned, the other or evil in Plato's philosophy is similar to Mitra. Therefore, the whole of Plato's philosophy- that the whole of humanity revolves around his thoughts -is turning around based on the negation of symbols and concepts of the Medes Mithraism ritual. In the following we will see that the other in Plato's political philosophy, the lion man head, the dark cave and the social contract, are the characteristics of the Mithraic ritual. Now we well indicate the other of Zoroaster religion and Cyrus empire.

Religion/Zoroaster

Zoroaster is one of first people who become eternal in history and lay down the bases of binary oppositions and dualism through codification of the concepts of God (Ahura Mazda), goodness, light, soul, Asha (Hierarchy.order), heaven and in contrastive correspondence with demon, badness, darkness, flesh/instinct, contract, the earth and evil. The main ideas of Zoroaster, Ahuramazda which is light, fire and hierarchical order which is the king symmetrical/indicate of Ahuramazda on earth and the king is the owner of Farah Izadi (representative of God).

Hegel stated that the world history begins with Iran, with Cyrus because it was Cyrus who established an empire in its precise meaning for the first time. This term of "state", which Hegel used, was very important in his philosophy. But what is important here is Hegel's use of the word "Reich" which is, in fact, equivalent to the word "empire. Hegel says Iran was a Reich, that is, an empire. Hegel said that I said that the world history begins with Iran because the Iranians used the government for the first time and the present government is the

continuation of the same inference of the government; the same thing has also occurred in the religion. That Zoroaster said “Ahurmazd is the light” is an important word in the history of the religions since the religion was utilized in the new non-incarnation (idols and other worshipable things) meaning. In Hegel's point of view, the history of new religions will lead to the offensbar religion which Hegel says this religion was formed for the first time in Iran. The light equals exactly to the awareness, that the Iranians said Ahormazd (God) is light means that God is knowledge. In Hegel's interpretation, god is awareness. Light and Ahura are defined in contrast to darkness and evil. Darkness and Satan in Zoroastrian religion represented what culture and ethnicity in contrast to which Zoroaster highlighted Ahura Mazda and light. the other of Zoroaster religion refers to what culture and customs in, which are described as Ahriman/devil and darkness.

The question is what did light, Ahuramazda and frah Izadi (Symmetry of God on Earth) stand out against?

The Zoroastrian religion, in contrast to the intellectual interpretation of western and Iranian commentators, is, as Henning, Boyce, and Zaehner have explored, a dualistic religion, and was essentially developed against monotheism. In Henning's opinion, "dualist movements have been a protest against monotheism, and duality was a response to the problem of evil, which is not consistent with faith in the good and the supreme God" (Henning, cited in Guillmin, 2004: 13).

“Goldener and Bartholoma believed that Zarathuster's birthplace was in Media from where he was forced to escape to the west ”(Guillmin, 1973: 4). “Professor Jackson also believes that Zarathustra was born in the west of Iran and preached his message there without success but eventually he gained success in Balkh” (Multon: 1387/2008: 40). “To what land shall I go to flee, whither to flee? From nobles and from my peers they sever me, nor are the people pleased with me....,

nor the Liar rulers ..." (Yasna 46, clause 1). Bartolme thinks Zoroaster formed the image of evil/Ahriman in his mind after being dispelled of the Mede and objective example of evil in the doctrine of Zoroastrianism were the Medes, and the Mithrash religion.

The scholars assert that Mithra was a great ritual before Zoroaster denied the existence of Mehr. Marr believes that Zoroastrianism gathered Varuna and Mitra in Ahura Mazda so that there remained no room for Mithra. Nyberg argued that Mehr was the Lord of the night that Zeroaster denied him. Zaehner and Gershovitch also say that Zarathustra left aside all the gods except Ahuramazda and Septendino. Humbach and Hunts believe that the Zoroaster absolutely turned against Mithra and and opposed worshipping him. Accoring to Lumel Zoroaster deliberately overlooked Mithra and Zarathushtra turned away from the Mitra, a god belonging to the common people of the ignorance time. Based on Mule the religion of Gahan was religious circle of the superiors ignoring popular beliefs. Gershevitch accepted the view that Zoroaster considered Mehr as hatred, and Zoroastrians expelled Mehr out from his own religion (Boyce, 2001: 109110). Guillmin also believes that Mithra was a long-time rival of Mazda, and Zoroaster's silence about him was deliberate, hostile and emotional (Guillmin 1999: 17). The conflict of the Zoroastrianism with Mithraism has been accepted by Ravind Gren, Vikndr, Lumel and Nyberg, too (Razi, 1381/2002: 74).

The Zarathustra struggle was in address to the Mihra rite sacrificing the cows in the dark caves and drinking inebriant Hom drink" (Hinz, 1385/2006: 75). All the evidence suggests Zoroaster's continual controversy with Mithra and Mithraists (ibid, 64). Zoroaster has turned against all the side-effects of the bull or cow's sacrifice, dancing, being drunken and Homa drinking in dark cave" (Razi, 1381/2002: 68). As we see, Zarathustra built Ahuramazda and light in opposition to Mithra, who dances and rejoices in dark caves away from sunlight after killing a cow. Furthermore, Zoroaster highlight the Frah Izadi or Ashah(Hierarchy

order) against the Mithra which means Contract And we see the manifestation of Mitra in the election of Diaaco to the throne with elections according to Herodotus in Media (Herodotus, 1987, in trans by Mazandarani, 1384/2005: 101).

Empire/Cyrus:

As we know, Cyrus defeated the Medes to form the Persian Empire. Unlike the common narratives, Cyrus/Achaemenids overcame Medes neither through peace nor via the Medes' appeal but through long and hard wars with the hard struggle from beside the Medes, and overcoming Mede turned into such an important event in the emerging history of Pars, which became the main subject of the Persian/Iranian mythology, and Cyrus was abstracted from a historical personality into a mythical and symbolic one, as the Medes and Astiagh became the unpopular other of Iranian myths.

There are various views about the relationship between Mede and Pars, the ways to change the monarchy and the subsequent relationship of the Medes with the Persians in the Achaemenid Empire and Some scholars (Zarinkob, 1368, 107).have considered Medes and Persians as relatives, and the transfer of superiority from Mede to Pars as a simple change of monarchy with the consent of the Medians themselves. In contrast, some other scholars have regarded it not as the simple transfer of monarchy, but as looting the Medes and making them slaves in the true sense (Aliev, 1388/2009,: 415) which transcended a major change in the dynasty of the kingdom, and it meant a geographical power transmission with all the political and moral consequences (Champdor, 1952, in trans by Ghazi, 1384/2005: 82).

Cyrus used to collaborate with Nabonyd to eliminate Median political domination. "In order to prevent the attack of Astiag on Cyrus realm, Nabonid

carried out some military operations around Haran region to make Medes busy. His action prevented Astiag from swiftly trying to punish Cyrus and suppress his rebellion" (Zarinkob, *ibid*: 105-106). Nabonid attracted the Median army to Babylon and prevented the concentration of Medes' Corps to repel Cyrus. Kurosh had not made Nabondon do this merely through political relations, he had already contacted the Babylonian priests who were full of anger with Nabonid (Cook, *ibid*: 66). In Nabonid dream¹⁷, the god of Sin provoked Nabonid to capture the temple of Haran which was under the control of the Medes, and he called the Medes as "Oman Manda" and called Cyrus tas he Savior, and Christ and Meredok, who would soon sweep away "mighty" armies of "Oman Mande". Cyrus propagandists, as some historians¹⁸ pointed out, had contacted the Babylonian priests and the Jewish Isaia, who was unknown at that time, and the Eastern priests, including Zeroaster the Prophet (s) in order to represent Cyrus as the guardian , and the Medes and Astiag as hatredess and Ajidahak in substitutes for Cyrus' promises and vows. The result of Cyrus propaganda was that the Medes and Astyagh became known as Oman Mande the seeds of the Timothy¹⁹ in Armenia, in the narration of Moses Khorni²⁰, as in the Ajidahak and Dragon, and in the Zoroastrianism²¹ in the mythology of the eastern part of Iran, as Ajidahak Zahak/and Ahriman, and In Judaism as Jins and devils. Therefore, the collaboration of the three Iranian/Aryan civilizations, Semitic/Mesopotamia, Jewish and Armenian, led to the destruction of the Medes.

Herodotus knew the reason for Persians' uprising in that they were under pressure and they were burning in their quest for Medes wealth (Briant, 2002, in trans by Feraghan, 1387/2008: 23; Herodotus, *ibid*: 100). Conquest of the Medes was not the Medes' demand, but a three-year war with the corporation of Babylon, Arman, Jews and Bacteria. Herodotus regarded conquest of the Medes as their own demand and made the issue simple, while in Babylonian texts, the final battle and the capture of Ekbatan were the last apparent episode that lasted

at least three years. Ancient writers such as Katsias, Yustinas and Nikolai Damashqi and Polyanus have described a hard struggle between Medea and Cyrus ... Polylonus wrote: "Cyrus fought with Media three times and he failed all three times..., even after the the initiative defeats of the Pars, many Persians joined Media" (Briant, *ibid*: 49).

as the history which, based on Hegel, began with Cyrus and Zoroaster, had its roots in the violence against the Mede/Mithra. the historical and Cyrus and Zoroaster have founded in contrast to Astiag and the ritual of the Median Mithra.

What is Mithra religion and where are it from?

Mithraism, which was common among the Medes, is different from Roman and Persian Mithraism. Mitra in Media means a contract of dancing and rejoicing in dark caves by killing cows.

Ordinarily Mehr/Mithra is considered as sun-worshipism and as an Iranian ritual. The presupposition of the researchers in regarding Mithra rite as an Iranian one is that they have considered political boundaries of Iran the same as its cultural ethnic/common borders.

Unaware that the political boundary of Iran does not mean religious/ethnic equality within this boundary. The Sun-prayism of Mehrians is the late Iranian Mithraism by Zeroasterian Maguses, and it has nothing to do with the principles of the Mithraism. After the hegemony of the views of "Vermaseren" and "Franz Cumont", it was "Wikinder" who discovered the non-Iranian roots of Mithra correctly; further, "Meillet" and "Paul Thieame" correctly understood that the origion of Mithra means contract and agreement, and it has nothing to do with the Iranian Sun-prayism. "Hofer" and 'Widingren" also emphasized on the Median roots of Mithra. Contrary to the prevailing theory, the DuchessGuillmin, Zaehner, and many others admitted that Mithra not only has connection with

Zoroastrianism, but Zarathustra made Mithra as a devil based on the rejection of Mithra's religion. Moreover, Mithra is not sacrificing, but killing it, and the ceremony of bull-killing was held in dark caves away from sunlight and fire along with water springs and ani-mals such as snakes and scorpions and lion. These animals are the symbol of earth, body and instinct; therefore, contrary to the seven mystical/Iranians obstacles or challenges are seven Mithraism challenges are not assent to metaphysics and spirituality, but fall into the basement and the body and biological emancipation. The direction of the snake, scorpion and water is toward the underground in contrast to the eagle, the bull and the fire. Inevitably, the solar/mystical Mithra is not the original Mithra of the Medians, but it is the Iranian constructed one to forget the previous Median one.

Where is Mithra from?

According to Herodotus, the Medes admired the god of "Mithra" (Herodotus, cited in Christensen, 1944, in trans by Yasemi, 1382/2003: 70) ⁶⁵. At that time (Herodotus' era), the people of wester Iran were not yet acquainted with Ahura Mazda (Rajabi, 1380/2001: 29); in the land of the Medes, the god of Mithra was worshiped before the Avestan and Achaemenid time in a non-Aryan land (Hofer, cited in Closka, in trans by Saqibfar, 1385/2006: 365). The word "Mitotres" dates back to 3500 AD. "Domizel" knows Mithra as an Indo-European word, but "Bonfanta" proved that it belonged to an Indo-European period (Bonfanthe, cited in Closka, ibid: 86). The words of "Mitra", in all languages, express the name of Mithra among the Median people. "The word "Mithra" in the Elamite and Greek sources -Mitrobats- and Aramian all state the specific names of Mithra among the Median people" (Hofer, ibid: 366). The stability of Onegnand's arguments about Mithra has proven that Medians were Mithraists (Hofer, ibid:

366). In general, it is common to assume that the Latin and Roman forms of the Mithra represent it as belonging to the Median dialect. (Hofer, 1964: 12-13).

Means of Mithra:

“Mithra means contract and agreement, and there is no evidence that the term Mithra originally meant as light or sun. Naming Mithra to mean light is not verified and it does not mean the sun in Veda or Avesta and this meaning has been added later” (Schmidt, cited in Closka, ibid: 388-390). Millet considered “Mithra as the embodiment of the contract similar to Timis in Greece that is the illustration of justice” (Millet, cited in Schmidt, ibid: 387). Supervision and protection of the contract is one of the oldest acts of Mithra (Jong, 1997: 285). Mithras rises after the sunset and sets after the sunrise against the direction of the sun. The sun and Mithras are two distinct gods in most of Pahlavi religious texts including Pazand and Mehryasht (Vermaseren, 1956,8). Mithras rise in the mountain before the sunrise, it scouts in the sunset and it moves from the west to the east (Mehryast, 24). Therefore, Mithras has never been the sun but the god of the night and the stars. Mithras's rising and setting is the reverse of the sun. It rises in the west after the sunset and set in the east before the sunrise. In fact, the sunrise is the Mithras set (as the rise of Iranians and Zoroaster was the setting of Medians and Mithras. In fact, Zoroaster focused on the brightness of fire, light and the sun against the Mithras's darkness of caverns.

To prove that Mithras has not been the sun but anti-sun, we can refer to Mihrabas and the picture scribed on the rocks about the Mithras' emergences in addition to Mehryasht cave as destroyed through the enmity of Zoroaster's religion ad Daryoush (Hinz, 2007,371). Therefore, we have to refer to the Mehrabas in the other parts of the world as the remaining of Median Mehrabas

since those in Media has been Iranianized or Zoroasteized. First, we will make clear the emergence of Mithras from the heart of rocks.

In epigraphs and images found from the generation of Mithras, he has worn a Phrygian cap on his head holding a torch in his left hand and a knife in his right hand to kill the cow one day (Vermasern in Gerevich,2011.93). The first battle of Mithras to succeed on his mission is struggling with the sun, defeating and subduing it (Razi,2002,297-304). Mithras is introduced in HOTs as the cow killer and the sun defater. Therefore, Mithras is not only the sun but his main prophecy is to confront and turn against the sun. Biwar believes that Mithras is linked with the god of underground or dead world of Mezopotamia e.g. Nargel (Hades) (Hensman, kloska, ibid,255). The torch held in Mithras' left hand is the sign of anti-sun attitude hence it is used in places where there is no sun and dark caves. Where we have the sun light, there is no need to use the torch as it is utilized in Lalesh shrine or cavern. There are the entire Mehrabas all over the world inside the dark caverns far away from the sun. Mithras worship their god inside very dark caves where as though there hide the demon's blurs and they escape from the lighting (Mtrinos in Razi, ibid,274).

Apart from the fact that the animals accompanying Mithra are lion, snake and scorpion, "Mithra himself is shown with the human body, the head of the lion and with the dragon/snake around it in many ancient symbols" (Von Gaal, Closka, ibid: 565; Razi, 1381/2002: 298). In most of the inscriptions, Mehr is in the form of the head of the lion, which is the connotation of the devil and the name of the satan in Zoroastrian religion" (Hinelz, 1385: 128). Zaehner and Duchen-Gulliman have called this picture as the evil (Vermaseren, ibid: 158). Lag, Dushan Gulliman and others believed that the devil is the same as Mithra or Zoroasterian demon. (Hensman, Closka, ibid:255). The demon with the lion's head is the king of the devilish world (Zaehner, cited inVon Gall, ibid: 571). In a picture in Berlin, a giant with lion's head is fighting with Iter, the god of the

bright sun. Therefore, the lion-headed giant is among the enemies of the gods of light, and the god of the darkness (Von Gal, Closka, *ibid*: 570)

Beside the snake, the lion and the scorpion, another animal that is always accompanying Mithra is a black crow. Mithra enters a rocky cave with the guidance of a black crow (Boyle, Keloska, *the same*, 90). Mithra finds the fugitive cow from the cave with the help of a crow (Razi, 1381/2002: 200). The crow is the reminiscent of bull-slaying (Vermaseren, *ibid*: 101). We said that Mithra's ceremony is held inside a dark cave away from the sun, and Mithra is born with a torch in his hand in which torch is the anti-sun. Whereever the sun does not exist like the dark cave; the torch is used.

The simple form of this issue is that the cow and sun blessing from India to Egypt is a reaction to the bul-sacrifice in dark cave ceremony of Mithraism/Medes, which is still preserved in the ceremonies of the Pir-e Shalyar in Hawraman and Izadies in Lalesh in the present time. The Ahura and Asha of Zoroaster are a reaction to contract/Mithra which was badged as evil and demon. The theory of the forms and goodness of Plato is a response to the bull-slaying cave of the Median Mithra and its earthly contract. the philosophers made Mithra/contract as a model for the political reform while they made Mithra (contract/paradise) a symbol of Satan and sin and the political order of the philosopher king -King and the Prophet- was a reaction to Mithra/contract.

If Zoroaster bolded light and fire in contrast to the darkness of Mithras' cave and sacrificed cow against Mithras cow killing and constructed the galaxal and hierarchical political order in contradiction with teresterial political and contractual order of Mithras, Plato also designated the imaginary universe of the sun in contrast to darkness of the cave whose inhabitants were considered as the symbols of ignorance and lust. Cyrus established the hierarchy empire against mithras contract which is obvious in Diaco selection to judge. Abraham, also

After migrating from Haran, defined a God in front of the sun and in the middle of the desert in contrast to the Mithras' god of the darkness of the cave. Some traces indicate that Mithras rose inside a rocky cave sacrificing cows for the sake of mankind. This denotes that god emerges in the earth and it is god which sacrifices for the sake of mankind; however, Abraham reversed this by sacrificing for the God ascending towards Him.

In fact, the emergence of the God in the form of mankind in Christianity is the result of the confiscation of god's rising on the earth. While the essence of Christianity e. g. HOLOL originates from Mithraism, researchers only recognize its details like bread, wine, father and Baba noel as deriving from it. All these things indicate that not only Iran-Zoroastrianism is the continuation of Mithraism in reversed order but also the Plato's philosophy and even the whole history appeared in opposition to Mithraism as "the other" of them all.

the baseless theory and the eternal laws of Greece was a reaction against the artificial law of Mithra. In Greece, moral rules have no origin, as they have always existed like the laws of geometry. They were the absolute rules that have no beginning, no ending, and they have always been eternal (Cassirer, ibid: 159). In religious civilizations such as Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity, the invariable and absolute will of God is the source of laws which do not change except by God's will as well. Also, the theory of the philosopher-king Plato and Farah Izadi Shah in Iran was constructed in opposition to the theory of Mithra's social contract, just as the sun, light, and the world of idea were highlighted in opposition to the darkness of Mithra's cave.

The politics in Mithra religion is not defined in terms of predefined earthy and customary laws; the collective agreement itself (Hegmatana) is the basis of the law, while Plato presented the theory of the permanent laws of government and politics as opposed to the theory of social contract of the Sophists, which he probably derived them from the Medes. "The rule-based government in Plato's

theory became the eternal property of the human culture. The ideal government of Plato was the example and criteria for the human actions" (Cassirer, 1377/1998: 156-157). In the given society of Plato/Greece, everything in the name of the individual and the personal life has no meaning, and the interests of the individual are the same as the interests of the state (Lambton, 1387/2008: 31), the government is also defined by the already defined nor agreed rules upon not the agreement of the people. The philosophy of the Middle Ages and those like Augustine also define the government according to the laws and principles of predefined heavenly religions by replacing the thoughts of God instead of the theory of Ideas (Forms) (Cassirer, *ibid*: 157), the city-God instead of the philosopher-government.

In the Jewish thought, there is legislation beforehand in which the man should learn the goodness and evil from God and his voluntary revelation (Cassirer, *ibid*: 161). Even the modern theory of social contract did not mean the social contract in the real sense of the word. John Locke's social contract was only to ensure the enforcement of the pre-existing natural laws. In Hobbes' theory, though unlike Locke, there were no pre-existing and natural laws, but the contract led to the absolute sovereignty and the people finally would consign the king the right to legislate. Therefore, Hobbes, who founded the foundation for legitimacy and social contract, and drove the root of metaphysical legitimacy, called his book *Leviathan*, the anti-God.

The Iranian government/imperial and philosophy-king foundation was also based on the classification of goodness and evil, the king's representative from behalf of the absolute goodness, and the elimination and de-struction of the opposition with the force of the goodness. The Iranian government was based on the King (Shah). The origin of the law always depended on the will of a person and the law could not exist without this person. The preexisting principle of

absolute sovereignty of Shah has continued to mold its form on the material of the history, representing the rule of Ahura-Allah. However, in the ritual of Mithra and its objective instance in Guthi/Mede, as there is no predefined rule, the government should be established and reviewed at any moment and according to the agreement and consent of the people. People's consent is the only existing law. Contrary to Ahuramazda who establishes order on the bases of obedience, in the way of getting to Ahuramazda, obedience is superior to all the things (Hinlez, 1385/2006: 76). "Based on the Treaty, Mithra regulates the society" (ibid: 119). The difference between the consensual Government of the Medes and the Iranian government of the Divine right is due to the difference in their creed and culture. Zoroaster is an aristocratic or a governmental hierarchical religion, while Mithra is the equality and justice-oriented religion.

"The ritual of Mithra necessitates brotherhood and adores it, but it ignores the nobles and it require the government of justice (Bahar, 1384/2005: 453). In contrast to the myths and the ancient epics, which proves the aristocratic structure, there are some myths such as Mithra which are skeptical and rebellious to the current structure (ibid: 454).

This is not merely Iranian intellect and Zarathustra, which was developed in contrast to and in rejection of the ritual of Mithra. Moreover, it is also the basis of Plato's philosophy and the political wisdom of Semitic/Arabic (Mesopotamia) have been evolved in negation to Mithra. In fact, three initiator cultures of history, Greece, Semitic, and Iranian developed in contrast with the Median Mithra and in making it as "the other". For this reason, in all three civilizations, the Medes/Kurds were presented as Ajidahak (serpent on shoulder Zahak), jins, and serpent-like tressed Medosa, Irrational Guties, Tokhme (descent) of Tiamats and others in the heavenly religions and metaphysical cultures. Also, in this article we have focused in Greek and Iran ration, it is not bad to make a brief reference to the Semitic / Arabic intellect as opposed to Mitra.

The Nargel in the Semetic wisdom has the same role of Satan in the Iranian wisdom and Hades in Greek wisdom, the god the evil and the ugliness and the world of darkness and beneath the earth. Widengren(1960: 40-45) has correctly pointed out that the Semites have shown the truth their evil/Nargel along with the Mithraism symbols; that is, their “the other” was Mithra. Before we continue the discussion, we should note that mainly the Mesopotamian Semitics have used Nargel to refer to the Zagros mountains, and the root of the word nargel is “mountain” used to refer to the inhabitants of the Zagros mountains or the same Medes and Guties. Besides, the word “kur” was used instead of Greek Hades and Ebrian Sheol in the Sumerian languge; this word originally meant “the mountain” but it gradually found the alian lands since the mountainous lands surrounding Sumer were continually the source of danger and threat (Kerimer, 1979: 135). The word "kur" means both mountain in referece to the chain of Zagros mountains as well as foreign or alian lands, because the alian countries or lands that Sumerians had wars or relationships with wer in Zagros mountains (Black, 1992: 114). Kur, based on the Sumerian ideology, is a gap between the earth's surface and the primitive sea that the spirits of the dead go there; therefore, to get to the moutains, the people must get on a boat and pass a river that can sink the people (Keramer,ibid: 135). Our Nemo, the great king, dispatches for the Kur after death, Kur, the symbol of the underground world is the abode of the deads and it is special to the mortal men (ibid: 136).

Kur is one of the names of the underground world, i.e. the lower world, or the world of the dead (Black, ibid), the only danger that Sumerian and Babylonia faced lied in the mountains by the Guties, Kasis, and the Medes. Guties assaulted Mesopotamia in 23 B.C. Kasis in 18 B.C. Later on, Babylon has always faced the Median attacks and their threats in such a way that they placed a stockyard around which became known as the Median wall

Conclusion

If we accept as true the periodical-based history of Jaspers or Hegel's idea considering Plato, Zoroaster and Cyrus as the beginning of history and Hegel's opinion that every phenomenon emerges versus its oppositions, then we conclude that history appearance is the result of contradiction with Mithraism (primary Mithra). The other of Plato is the allergy of the cave as the symbol of Mithraism cave. Plato designated (developed) the rough rules of spirituality and philosophy in opposition with the drunk, cheers and dances of Mithraism's caves and defined the universe of ... as the symbol of the sun in contradiction with the darkness of Mithra's caves. He presented the theory of King-Philosopher against the theory of social contract realized in Sophists which is same or maybe was influenced by Mithras social contract. All these aspects do not mean that he is not influenced by Mithras. All of the Plato's symbols like bolter (rouge), cave allergy and the leonine man were designated in opposition or similar to Mithraism symbols. Having observed the symbols of Mithraism, Plato did not comprehend their actual imagery meanings; hence, he broke away with them in surprise and made the language of dialectic and instrument emerges. Zoroaster placed Demon instead of the cow killer -Mithras- and he put the brightness of the fire and harsh religious rules to abstain instincts in contrast to the darkness, happiness and dance in the caves. He designated the galaxy and metaphysical order instead of terrestrial and earthly political order. He took the king as a human being in Media to the heaven in the role of God- the creator; as the result, the political was representing the God and Shah - the king – was corresponding to Ahuora. After escaping from Haran, Abraham built the house of God against the sun in the desert in contrast to the God of Mithras in the darkness of cave. In fact, revelation / religion and dialectics / philosophy evolved in opposition to the image and symbolic language of Mitra. Also, as we mentioned, the first

empire by Cyrus constructed in opposition and defeat to the Medes Where the Mithraic religion was prevalent. If Zarathustra and Plato theoretically formulated the theory of the philosopher king and king-god in opposition to Mithra's theory of social contract, Cyrus practically established an empire with a hierarchical order with divine legitimacy, in contrast to the plural and selective order of the Medes (Liverani, 2003: 17. Herodotus, 1987: 76-77). Mithraism ideology existed before goodness and evil. Later Plato and Zoroaster contrived goodness and set the evil up against it. Article 29 of Mehr Yasht says " Thou, oh Mehr Yazta are (both) strict and best to the countries, Thou, oh Mehr Yazta are (both) strict and best to the men, Thou, oh Mehr Yazta rulest over peace and discord of the countries ". Right and wrong or good and bad do not carry any meaning before conclusion of the contract in the tragic ideology of Mithraism. Agreement is the only frame of reference for the goodness and badness and nothing good or bad is predetermined or ethical. However, they called their later religion and philosophy good and the early Mithras bad. As a result, it has laid the foundation for the binary opposition of good and evil, soul and body, earth and sky, and logos and eros.

Because of this Niche in his " Zoroaster told in such way" which surveys about the genealogy of western ration, attacks Iranian/historical Zoroaster. He defends his western earth, instinct and the life against god, heaven and the soul of Zoroaster through the motto of eternal return to the joys of life. He does this to break down the foundation of dualism formed by Zoroaster and continued by Plato and Jesus. The bases of dualism rely on the earth and instinct; therefore, Niche renounces the gainsayers of the earth to revive the pride of the earth. The gainsayer of the earth in contrast to what exists in reality and on the earth resorts to Apollonian illusions and utopia (whether hereafter in paradise form or its worldly heaven of Plato and Marx). Niche tries to end Plato's illusions of religion and philosophy with prophet Dionysian by means of the motto of eternal return to life and the tragic acceptance of it with dancing and happiness. If tragic

realities the earth along with dance and happiness were accepted, dualism, binary opposition and nowhere places such as this world and hereafter would be formed. The Dionysian God which Niche described is the same as since Deionize as Kassirer indicates is the same as Zagros not the god of Greeks.

Philosophy and religion emerged as the essence of history in opposition to something, and each became the hegemonic tool of ethnic/class domination. Philosophy became the instrument of class warfare and the justification of the domination of the aristocracy, and religion became the instrument of ethnic warfare and the justification of ethnic domination. If the history of the West is the history of class conflict, and Philosophy and ideas such as liberalism and socialism are the ideology of class domination, the history of the Middle East is the history of Ethnic/tribes' conflict, and religions such as Islam and Zoroastrianism are the ideology of ethnic domination. For this reason, the text (Philosophy, Quean, Gatha) itself has no meaning, the meaning lies outside it is in the political and social structure. the conflict between good and evil in the religions is a reflection of the ethnicities/class and political conflict. The ruling ethnics/class that own the state/empire consider themselves good and representative of God and they call the stateless and defeated tribes/class Satan and evil. Hence, as Marx said, the critique of heaven must become the critique of the earth».

Plato, for instance uses philosophy to justify the domination of the aristocratic class. According to him, the working and toiling class are not able to access the Ideas world in order to have the authority to govern. For this reason, he describes the Democracy as the government of the ignorant. And the ignorant in his philosophy are the inferior and lower classes. Zarathustra also used religion and Ahuramazda to justify ethnic domination and described the common people and the consensus order as Satan and evil. Because in his religion the political order must be in accordance with the cosmic hierarchical order and the king is the

representative of God on earth who is holy and must be obeyed. As the philosopher- King of Plato is a holy and legislator. Both in Plato's philosophy and in Zoroastrianism, government is something that is beyond the competence of the people.

For this reason, with the spread of the slogans of the French Revolution with Napoleon, Hegel said that history was over. In fact, history ended when Thomas Hobbes restored political legitimacy from heaven to earth and he rightly named his book Leviathan. Leviathan means Satan and is anti-God. What religion and philosophy originally called Satan and evil is what we today call freedom and equality. Satan did not bow to Adam because he did not accept hierarchical order and Master-slave order. Therefore, he/she was cursed forever Which symbolizes the rejection of Mithras by religions and philosophers of history. As a result, as Nietzsche said, we must re-evaluate values. With the decline of ethnic and class domination, there is no need for religion and philosophy, hence, Marx considered the work of philosophers not to interpret the world but to change the world. The history of class domination in the West, which is the history of metaphysics, is over, but the history of ethnic domination, which is the history of religions and gods, is not over yet.

What Max Moller thinks of myth as the half-ignorance or the illness of language can be true about philosophy; similarly, Wien school called it as language misunderstanding. As Wittgenstein expressed its theoretical bases, in fact, speech and metaphysics broke away from the language of image and was replaced by the language of the instrument (Revelation and dialectic). Philosophy look in every direction, it does not see behind his back which is ignorance as behind religion is hatred. If we understand the unthinking field of religion and philosophy, there is nothing to think and believe. Destiny is the philosophy of ignorance because its foundation is based on ignorance. As the destiny of religion is hatred and resentment because it was based on the denial and hatred of the "other" History was a mistake.

Conclusion

Nowadays, Numerous discourses in the Middle East are competing with each other. On the one hand, the discourse of Shiite Islam, Islamic fundamentalism and moderate Islam, and on the other, nationalist discourses such as Greater Iran, the Turkish Empire and the Arab Caliphate. Indeed, the two central discourses of the Middle East are religion and nationalism. These two discourses are interconnected. For example, Shiite Islam is the ruling discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran, just as moderate Sunni Islam is the propaganda discourse of Turkey. This means that nationalism or ethnicity is the basis, and religion is the

ideology of ethnicity, as the state is the military and administrative tool of ethnicity to maintain its domination and expansionism. However, at the same time as the dominant Islamic and nationalist discourses in the Middle East, which also own the institution of government, another discourse is emerging that is neither nationalist nor religious, moreover lacks the government's ability to maintain and develop itself. This is a pluralistic and democratic discourse, while it is anti-nationalist and anti-religious.

The emergence of a secular and democratic discourse in the Middle East, depends on the emergence of the Kurds as a political actor. For this reason, the hatred and struggle against the Kurds by the Arabs, Turks and Persians is not the only ethnic and political struggle. Rather, it is a antagonist between two discourses: between earthly-human values with metaphysical and anti-human values.

The rise of the democratic and humane discourse of the Kurds is the sunset of the nationalist and religious discourse of the single ethnic-religious states of the Middle East. Because the ruling tribes of the Middle East legitimize their class and ethnic domination with the ideology of religion. In fact, religion and nationalism exist as long as there is ethnic and class domination and inequality. The decline of ethnic and class domination also means the decline of metaphysics and religion.

Actually, the emergence of religion and philosophy was the result of the emergence of ethnic and class domination. Philosophy was used with Plato for class domination, which called democracy the government of the ignorant. And religion was used by Zoroaster for ethnic domination, which he called the consensual order of the Medes, Satan/evil. As we have mentioned, the emergence of history with religion and philosophy was a reaction to the political and social religion of the ancient Kurds, namely Mitra. Mitra was titled the Cave of Ignorance and Satan in Plato's philosophy and Zoroastrian religion. The

current battle of the ruling nations in the Middle East with religious and nationalist ideology is a battle of history with the democratic post-historical discourse of the Kurds, who were marginalized with the advent of history and now have a new emergence with the end of history.

Although, in this book we did not deal with the Turkish ethnic independently, the foundation of Turkish civilization was formed in the region by occupying other lands and plunder their property. In their political subconscious there is the Ottoman Empire, which they are trying to revive with either Pan-Turkism or Neo-Ottomans. Therefore, the method used to study the political ration of Iran and the Arabs is also used for the political reason of the Turks.

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